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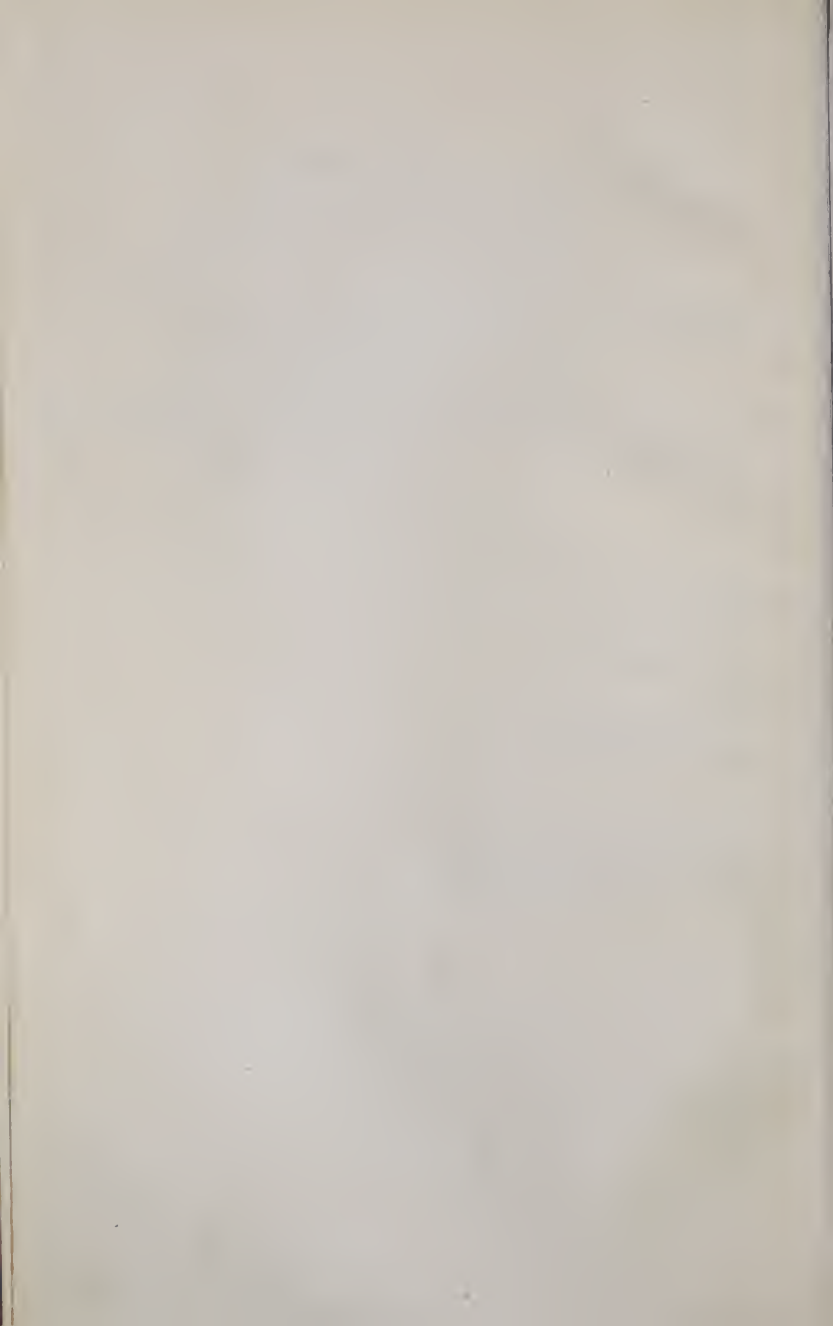
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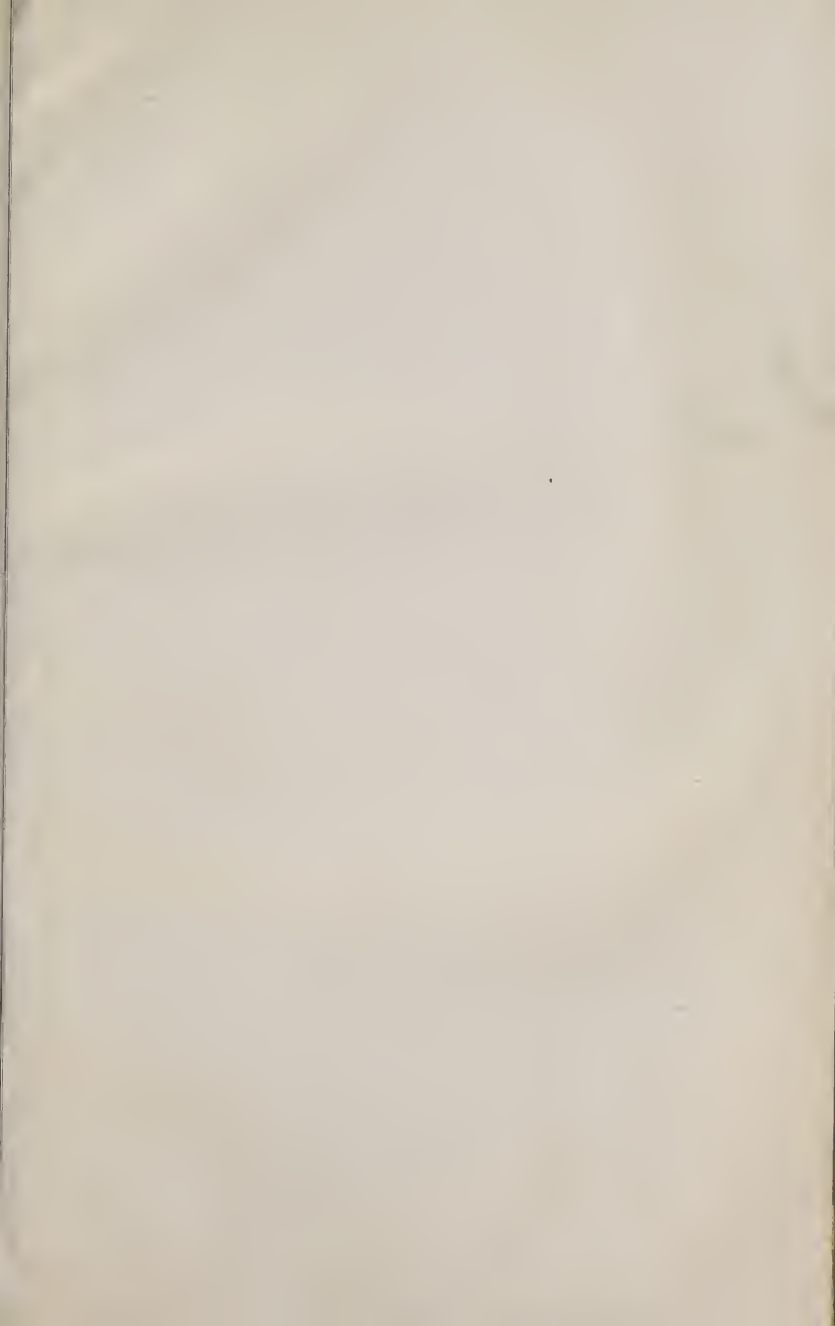
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GODLONTON

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INTRODUCTORY REMARKS
TO A
NARRATIVE
OF THE
IRRUPTION OF THE KAFIR HORDES.
INTO THE
EASTERN PROVINCE
OF THE
CAPE OF GOOD HOPE.
A. D. 1834—35.

PART I.

GRAHAM'S TOWN.
PRINTED BY MEURANT & GODLONTON, HIGH STREET.

MDCCCXXXV.



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BY THE EDITOR OF THE "GRAHAM'S TOWN JOURNAL."

PART I.

"THERE are questions affecting the highest interests of society on which it is criminal to be silent. There are crimes and conspiracies against man, in his collective and individual capacity, which strip the guilty of all the respect due to the adventitious circumstances connected with rank and station; and to know that such combinations exist and not to denounce them, is treason against the throne of Heaven and the immutable principles of Truth and Justice."—Dr. PHILLIP'S Preface to "Researches in South Africa."

GRAHAM'S TOWN:
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MDCCCXXXV.



ADVERTISEMENT.

THE following pages are introductory to a "Narrative," which will be hereafter published, of the late irruption of the Kafirs into the colony of the Cape of Good Hope.

When the compiler undertook to arrange the materials for this work, he saw the necessity of introducing the subject by such remarks, as might convey to those at a distance some idea of the situation of the frontier inhabitants, as well as of the causes which have led to a calamity so sudden and melancholy as that under which they are now labouring. With this view he commenced to write ; but when once entered on there were so many different points to be discussed, and these again branched out to so many others, which it was necessary incidentally to remark upon, that he has been unwittingly led to occupy much more space than he originally contemplated.

The present is a momentous crisis, not only for this frontier, but for the colony at large. Hence it behoves each one concerned to exert himself to the uttermost to defend his most sacred rights, his dearest connections, against the assaults of his enemies,—whatever garb they may assume, and under whatever pretence they may place themselves in array against him. Such being the critical posture of affairs, and such the paramount duty of every one at this moment, it has been thought desirable that this Introduction should be published without losing time by waiting for its entire completion. The compiler cannot be insensible to the disadvantages under which the publication of an unfinished work necessarily places him ; but, nevertheless, in the humble hope that it may serve the general cause, he cheerfully submits it to the consideration of the public.

With regard to the execution of the task which the compiler has thus voluntarily imposed upon himself, there need be little said on the present occasion. Apology would be unnecessary, and to deprecate criticism would be useless and futile. It will suffice for any candid mind to know, that it has been hurriedly written—amidst the scenes of distress and commotion to which it refers—at intervals snatched from a round of duties, contingent upon the inhabitants, flying to arms en masse for general defence, and other pressing and unavoidable avocations. Elegance of diction has not been the point aimed at, but simply the narration of a “plain unvarnished tale.” Several errors have been discovered in the text, but they are not of that nature as need be pointed out as Errata. They do not materially alter the sense of the passage, and therefore, in a work of this kind, can offend none but the fastidious. The seeker after truth does not hunt for blemishes, but for facts. The air-bubble floating down the stream may amuse the listless vacant mind of the idler, but the man of worth must have his time occupied by employment more congenial and useful.

The subsequent part of this Introduction will contain a brief review of the Frontier Trade, and an account of the several Kafir Tribes, &c. This will be followed, as proposed, by a Narrative of the principal events which have occurred during the present warfare ; and will conclude with an Appendix containing the several Official Documents published since the commencement of the contest.

The last number will contain the Title Page, Preface and Illustrations ; and, when completed, will form a moderate-sized volume.

Graham's Town, 6th June, 1835.

A
NARRATIVE
OF THE
IRRUPTION OF THE KAFIR HORDES,
&c. &c.

INTRODUCTORY REMARKS.



Comparative view of the past and present state of the British Settlement of Albany.—Policy of the Government towards the Native Tribes.—The Ceded Territory.—Continued aggressions of the Kafir hordes.—The Kat River Settlement.—History of Matiwana, &c.

THE formation of the District of Albany by the British Settlers was an important epoch in the history of the Cape of Good Hope. On their arrival, at the commencement of the year 1820, that part of the Eastern Frontier appropriated for their reception had just been cleared of the Kafir hordes, which had spread themselves over the country, far within the colonial boundary—burning and pillaging the houses, and murdering many of the inhabitants. Even the head quarters of the military, on a spot which had been named after the Commander of the Troops “Graham’s Town,” had been attacked by them in great force; and that with so much determination, that they were not repulsed until fourteen hundred of their number were slain on the field of action.

Shortly after this defeat they were compelled to retire beyond the Keiskamma River ; which stream, from the sea upwards to its junction with the Chumie, had been declared by Proclamation as the boundary of the Colony. From the confluence of these two streams, the latter was the divisional line towards the Winterberg, and on the northern side of that mountain the Swart Kei and Klaas Smit's Rivers and the Storm Berg Spruit—a ravine perfectly dry except after rains—separated the Tarka district from the Tambookie and Bushmen country.

On being placed on the lands appropriated for their reception, the British Emigrants found themselves surrounded by numerous mementos of the savage warfare which had been carried on against the Colonists by the barbarian natives. The ruins of the farm houses, destroyed by their fire-brands, were to be seen thickly scattered along the frontier line, and in some instances the delapidated walls of the dwellings of the former inhabitants, thus consumed, were taken possession of by the new comers, and formed a part of those temporary buildings which were constructed at this early period to shelter their respective families. Ignorant of the crafty and savage character of the Kafir people, no apprehensions were entertained respecting them, and the work of colonization proceeded with a cheerfulness and an activity never surpassed in any similar enterprise. The country in which they found themselves placed was extremely pleasing to the eye ; comprising in rich variety grassy knolls, wooded ravines, and extensive plains richly studded with the elegant mimosa, and a great variety of flowering shrubs ; whilst the soil appeared well suited to the production of grain,

and to the support of a large number of sheep and cattle.

It would be foreign to our purpose to review the progress of this interesting Settlement; several publications still before the public have given a variety of particulars upon the subject, and to them we may refer those who are desirous of gaining such additional information. It will suffice to observe, that after the lapse of 12 years from its commencement the writer of this narrative had occasion to review the state and prospects of the District, and the result was laid before the public in a respectable periodical of the day in the following terms:—

“On a full and impartial review of the present state of this district, it may now be confidently affirmed, that the intentions of the British government in forming the Settlement have at length been crowned with complete success. Not only do innumerable dwellings and inclosures present themselves in every part of the district, but many works of public utility have also been completed. Much attention has been given of late to the improvement of Roads, and indeed there is no useful undertaking proposed, without meeting with a share of public patronage. Many of the Inhabitants have established themselves comfortably and respectably, and can look around them on an active and enterprising race of young persons, rising into life with a fair prospect of future usefulness: some have attained a degree of opulence at which they never could have expected to arrive had they continued in Europe, where they must have shared in the privations of the middle classes of a redundant population; and none, except in a few peculiar cases, have any reasonable cause to

complain of the Land of their Adoption."

How deeply is it to be lamented that the cheerful dawn which thus beamed on the British Settlement should have terminated in dark and cheerless disappointment! How much is it to be deplored that, three years subsequent to the above, the same hand, writing for the "Graham's Town Journal," should have to describe the condition of the same District in the following terms:—

"We had been considering, just before this calamity burst upon us like an overwhelming flood, the circumstances and prospects of the Frontier Districts, preparatory to our taking a view of our circumstances on the commencement of the present year. We distinctly saw the dark cloud gathering over the Kafir country, but with that exception there was abundant cause for congratulation and thankfulness. The British Settlement of Albany in particular, had never been so rich in corn, in flocks, in herds, and in substantial comforts since its first formation as at that period. The harvest—with the exception of Indian corn, which was in a forward state—had been safely got in; a bountiful providence had crowned the year, for the first time, with a sufficiency of bread-corn, and an appearance of cheerful activity and of contentment began to be manifest amongst those who had been struggling with years of difficulty. But alas! all this was but as the deceitful calm which too often gives presage of the gathering storm.

"The savage invaders not content with pillage and massacre, have wantonly destroyed property to an incalculable amount; the standing crops have mostly perished,—many stacks of corn have been scattered to the winds,—nearly

every article of furniture has been broken or carried off,—numerous dwellings—many of them which have cost the earnings of years of the most steady industry to rear—have been, with all their moveables, totally consumed by fire, and the whole country, but recently so smiling and so beautiful, presents at this moment one wide and dismal scene of ruin and desolation.

“ Our readers at a distance must not suppose that this is a high-colored picture ; it falls far short of the reality, of which they can form no adequate conception, unless they were placed, as we are, in the midst of the sufferers. They might then have their ears pierced, as we have, by the bitter tale of blighted hopes ;—they might then witness the desponding look of the man who, with energies exhausted, with a constitution broken by former privations and exertion, looks abroad on his children with a consciousness that they have been hurled from independence, from happiness, and from comfort, to the depths of poverty, and to a reliance on the frigid pity of the world for a morsel of bread. What may ultimately be experienced will scarcely bear reflection. The loss of life which must ensue,—the wide spread ruin which must be occasioned,—the sufferings which must be endured,—and the treasure which must be exhausted, before the present warfare can terminate, or the colonists be placed in a situation of safety, will be hundred times greater in amount, than though the most despotic and cruel system had been acted upon towards the ferocious savages who are now spreading desolation throughout the country.”

Greatly is it to be regretted that such a state of af-

fairs should have been brought to pass, partly through a mistaken policy adopted by the government of the country towards the native tribes; but still more is it to be deplored that such a line of policy should have been pursued in consequence of those flagrant misrepresentations which have been made, both of the character of the Kafir and other aboriginal tribes of the interior; and also of the circumstances and dispositions of the English and Dutch colonists. Whilst on the one hand the character of the former has been placed in the most favourable light, on the other, the latter—especially the Frontier Inhabitants—have been held up to the scorn and abhorrence of the English public as the systematic oppressors of the poor and the defenceless. Their struggles to defend their homes and their families against the continued invasions of the natives have been stigmatised as wanton aggressions, and their attempts to recover their property from the hands of the active despoilers who are incessantly plundering them, as unjustifiable inroads upon a quiet and comparatively inoffensive people.

To understand the first part of the subject fully, it will be necessary to recur to the treaty made with the celebrated Kafir Chief GAIKA, in the year 1819, —a measure which has justly been pronounced as fraught with danger to the colonial frontier, and which few have ever maintained to be either safe or expedient. This celebrated Chief was a man of no principle: his courage—a shining and first-rate quality in the estimation of the savage—was equivocal; and he had engrafted on the sensuality of the Kafir the worst and most degrading vices to be found among those who are reckoned within the pale of civilized society. His name is of

frequent occurrence in the annals of this frontier, purely in consequence of his exercising jurisdiction immediately on the colonial boundary, and because he was found unprincipled enough to "sell his birth-right for a morsel of pottage;" or in other words, to barter the rights of his countrymen to secure his own personal safety, and for the means of indulgence in his base and degrading propensities. Whatever treaty might have been made with GAIKA, it could have no possible effect in restraining the other principal chiefs, none of them being in the slightest degree subject to his control; on the other hand, there was every probability of its having a direct contrary effect; it being self-evident that a treaty formed with one chief, would naturally tend to excite a high degree of jealousy in the minds of others who were independant of him; and that the conduct of an individual so distinguished would be viewed on all occasions with a suspicion that could not be otherwise than detrimental to the colonial interests.

Another glaring error committed at this period was the non-occupancy of the *Neutral* or *Ceded* territory. Until the treaty made with GAIKA in 1819, the Great Fish River was defined as the boundary line between the Colony and the Kafir territory; in consequence, however, of the daring attack on Graham's Town, which is situated at not more than five miles from some points of the thickets that clothe its banks, the line of demarcation was then pushed farther eastward, and the colonial limits embraced the tract of country comprised between this River and the Keiskamma, as before described. The territory thus added to the Colony may be

estimated at 2000 square miles, and includes much diversity of soil and surface. Its general features are extremely pleasing, and it is found to be eminently suited for pasturing of both sheep and cattle.

The extension of the colonial boundary to the Keiskamma, was a stroke of policy imperatively called for ; it being very apparent that the extraordinary thickets which line the banks of the Great Fish River, render that stream the very worst boundary that could be fixed on between the colony and a people with habits like those of the Kafirs. The good effects which might have resulted from that measure has, however, been counteracted by the subsequent measures of government. By leaving the greater part of this country depopulated, it has become a sort of "*debateable land*," and a bone of contention has thus, as it were, been placed between the two contending parties.

"More than five years have elapsed since the writer of this narrative directed the attention of the authorities to the insecurity of property by the non-occupancy of the ceded territory, and every day since has strengthened the opinion then given. The statement referred to was recorded in the 'Cape Directory' for the year 1830, to the following effect. "The policy which determined the government to agree to the non-occupancy of the ceded territory, has been attended with fatal effects to the prosperity of the new Settlers, and with useless expense to the colonial treasury. This tract of country has served as a lurking place to the Kafirs, when engaged on predatory expeditions, and here the plunder of the colonists has been securely secreted until opportunity offered to convey it with safety to its ultimate destination."

No one who is acquainted with the local peculiarities of the tract of country which unites the colony with the ceded territory, but must at once perceive the inutility of maintaining it as the boundary between the colonists and a people who are robbers by profession; and who, from their mode of conducting their predatory incursions, are distinguished by the more distant tribes, by an appellation signifying a 'Bush Buck or native of the thicket.' The banks of the Great Fish River are encumbered with immense wooded kloofs, capable of affording cover to a large army of such inveterate bush-rangers as the Kafirs, whilst from certain points there is, with the exception of two or three small patches of open country, a continuous bush stretching entirely across the Albany district, and far into the district of Uitenhage. Altogether there is so much facility for plunder that if ever the inhabitants of Albany enjoy tranquillity, the ceded territory must be occupied, and a chain of military posts or villages, or both, must be formed along the high lands which separate the ceded from the Kafir country. If this be not immediately resolved on, and carried into effect, the Albany frontier must remain depopulated. Those who have now escaped with their lives will never return more to the perilous situation in which they have for so many years been placed, and of which they have only been made fully sensible by the entire destruction in one week of the fruits of more than fourteen years' arduous and incessant labour."

Description would fail in giving an adequate conception of the tract of boundary-line referred to. From the mouth of the Fish River to De Bruin's

Post, which is one continuous forest, the distance in a straight line is not less than forty miles, and the mean width of this tract may probably be eight or ten. It is, however, not the thicket alone which opposes such an insurmountable barrier to the progress of military operations, but it is also the features of the country, which are wild and rugged in the extreme. In some places the scenery is perfectly terrific. Standing on the high lands which skirt the bush on either bank of the river, the spectator has presented before him an immense valley, in which are thrown together in a chaotic mass immense kloofs or gorges, mingled with dark frowning precipices, whilst a generally wild, rugged, and highly irregular surface is exhibited throughout its whole extent. Were it possible to imagine a situation most suitable for the wild haunts of Kafir handitti, a scene similar to the forest of the Fish River would present itself. To complete the picture the reader must fancy to himself the turbid waters of the river rushing with tremendous force and rapidity in its rocky and tortuous bed through the very centre of the scenery, of which the above is but a faint outline.

Such is the boundary which separates the British settlement of Albany from the ceded territory, and such is the situation where, at an early period of the settlement, several of the Settlers fell victims to the savage natives; yet, strange to say, it has been continued as the boundary of the colony up to the present day, and it might have remained so, had not the late irruption of the Kafir hordes awakened government to a due sense of the danger to which the inhabitants were exposed, by affording, so immediately contiguous to their

dwelling, such a suitable cover to these restless barbarians, in their marauding expeditions within the colony.*

Whether the treaty made with Gaika went fully to *cede* to the colony the land between the Fish River and the Keiskamma, or whether nothing more was understood, than that it was to remain *neutral*, and be occupied by neither of the contracting parties, is now a point of very little moment. It will be sufficient to observe, that if the latter be the true state of the case, the compact has been broken on all hands. The main advantage supposed to be derived from its non-occupancy has been stated to be the great importance of having a vacant tract of country between the colony and Kafirland, across which the foot marks of stolen cattle might be easily followed; and which, were it inhabited, it would be very difficult to do, as such traces would be soon mingled with those of cattle belonging to the resident farmers. If, however, this plea be worth any thing, it has been completely nullified by the policy of the government subsequently adopted towards the Kafirs. The tribes under the brothers Pato, Kama, and Cobus, have for many years past occupied the country westward of the Keiskamma as far as th Beka; and for some time were permitted even to graze and kraal their cattle as far westward as the banks of the Fish River, within sight and call of the colonial farmers. Eno, and the chiefs connected with him, have been allowed to occu-

* The Rev. S. KAY in his "Kaffrarian Researches," page 225, observes,—
"Such is the nature of the country along the Fish River, that ten times the number of troops that have been kept on the frontier, would have been quite insufficient to prevent these disorders,"—alluding to the inroads of the Kafirs upon the frontier farmers.

py the ceded country in a similar way ; and Macomo was left in possession of the country watered by the numerous streams which form the Kat River, until he was driven back by the colonial forces, in 1830 ;—a measure which was reluctantly taken after he had committed the most daring outrages on the neighbouring tribes of Tambookies, under the Chief Gelela, many of whose people were driven far into the colony, pursued into the Tarka district, and massacred by Macomo's people within the colonial territory. For these enormities this chief was at length imperatively commanded to vacate the ceded country ; sufficient time being afforded him to gather in his crops. Refusing, however, to comply with this mandate, his forcible expulsion was at length determined on ;* whilst, to prevent the possibility of his return, the country was subsequently occupied by Hottentots and people of colour, and now forms the Kat River Settlement.

The country thus peopled, is singularly isolated. Separated from the other parts of the colony by the loftiest and most inaccessible mountains in this part of Southern Africa, it can only be approached at certain points over their summits, or by a road following the sinuosities of a narrow opening between them, where a succession of views present themselves, which have all the charms usually attending mountain scenery. Here are presented in rich variety—

Rocks, mounds, and knolls, confus'dly hurl'd,
The fragments of an earlier world.

* The mildness with which this service was executed, is even admitted by Mr. Thomas Pringle himself, who, in allusion to it, observes :—"No blood was spilt, and the measure was in other respects mildly executed."

Stupendous mountains on either hand, in many parts crowned with overhanging precipices of naked rock,—beneath, deep chasms or ravines, clothed with forest timber—frequently of immense growth—of ever-verdant foliage, while in several places water-falls of great beauty give variety, and an appearance of animation to the surrounding objects.

The height of these mountains has not been ascertained, but the nature of the country and other circumstances indicate that their elevation above the level of the sea is very considerable. During the winter months they are often covered with snow. At such seasons, to venture to climb their summits would be attended with great danger, and even at more favorable periods, it is not altogether without hazard. In illustration of this, the following anecdote, related to the writer on the spot, may be appositely recorded:—

“A party of Hottentots, consisting of three or four persons, while crossing this range were overtaken by a storm. The clouds descending enveloped them in so dense a vapour that they became utterly bewildered, and at length total darkness rendered every attempt to proceed further extremely hazardous. Benumbed by the cold, without fuel for a fire, they threw themselves prostrate to avoid the fury of the blast, and clasping each other, they endeavoured by that means to counteract the intense cold, from the paralyzing effects of which they were suffering. In this way the night was passed, but when morning flung its rays over the scene, one poor fellow was found dead in the embraces of his comrades, and the rest were so exhausted that they with great difficulty succeeded at length in reaching a habitation.”

When the traveller gains the centre of the settlement, so vast are the objects surrounding him, that the space included within this range of mountains appears exceedingly limited, and it is not till he proceeds to visit the different locations that he can persuade himself of the great extent of country comprised within their boundary.

The soil of all the valleys is enriched by alluvial deposits carried down from time to time by the rains from the acclivitous sides of the mountains, and when to this is added the abundance of water flowing in every direction, and so situated that not only all the low lands may be readily irrigated, but even to some height up the sides of the hills, it will easily be imagined that advantages are presented for agriculture, which are not, perhaps, surpassed by any other part of the colony.*

It would have been fortunate for the interests of the colony had the same line of policy been adopted with regard to the whole of the ceded territory as was displayed in this instance, for it is admitted on all hands that the non-occupancy of it fully by the colonists has been a fertile cause of jealousies and misunderstandings with the Kafir people. Possessing immense herds of cattle, which have of late years greatly increased by the spoliation of the colonists, they could not look over a tract of unoccupied country, once their own, without coveting the re-possession of it; and whenever they have been permitted to occupy any

* The above was written immediately after the return of the author from a visit to the spot, where he had spent ten days in minute enquiries into the localities of the country, and the situation and prospects of the inhabitants. The result of these enquiries was originally published in the "Graham's Town Journal" of the 8th June, 1832.

part on sufferance, have shewn the most bitter animosity towards the colonists, on being required to return within their own boundary.

It will also be seen in the sequel that this feeling has been greatly aggravated by those mistaken individuals who, from a principle of false, though we would fain believe sincere, philanthropy, have endeavoured to prove to the world that the Kafirs are a people more "sinned against than sinning." Such persons have invariably treated the cession of this territory as a nefarious transaction,—they have held out the strongest hopes to the natives that it would be ultimately restored to them by the British government; and they have depicted the frontier colonists as a set of ruthless ruffians, who commit without remorse crimes of the deepest dye, and who have entailed upon the unoffending natives the greatest wretchedness and suffering.*

There need be no hesitation in stating, that such representations, whether asserted or implied, are cruel and unjust in the extreme. The writer of this narrative has mixed much amongst the

* The following extract from the "*Spectator*" newspaper, of the 17th May, 1834, will show the truth of this remark. The editor of that respectable journal had been reviewing Mr. Pringle's book, and the impression made on his mind, and doubtless on that of the public, is given in the following terms:—"For any real or any fancied injury, (such as the loss of cattle) it is in the power of the pettiest Magistrate to send for a Commañdo, surprise and plunder the villages, burn the hovels, massacre the men, and carry the women and children into captivity, frequently shooting them on the road out of wantonness or impatience at their foot-sore pace. Their Chieftains are grossly insulted, their envoys have been murdered, and the lives of Kafir travellers are by no means safe;—yet even all these things are now submitted to, for the tribes are too well aware of British power to attempt reprisals, and unless some change of system should be enforced by the government at home, the nation will gradually perish by murders, by massacres, and by want. The treatment of the aborigines is one of the darkest and bloodiest stains in the page of history, and scarcely any is equal in atrocity to the conduct of the Dutch Boers, ably seconded of late—according to Mr. Pringle—by some of the more degraded of the English Settlers."

frontier inhabitants of this colony,—he has witnessed their conduct under a variety of circumstances when perfectly undisguised,—he has been frequently thrown an entire stranger upon their hospitality, and the sacredness of truth demands from him a refutation, as far as his observation goes, during a residence on the frontier for a period of fifteen years, of such sweeping and injurious charges. There is, unfortunately, no community whatever without its proportion of bad men, and doubtless there are unprincipled men on this frontier as well as elsewhere. But if any one will only consider the provocation which is given by the constant inroads of the Kafirs within the colony, and the continual plunder of the property of the farmers by these active and restless marauders, it will be matter of wonder that in such a rude state of society, such forbearance has so often been displayed under losses and annoyances that might well be considered sufficient to provoke the most placid temper, and to call forth the severest and most signal retribution. Within the twelve months preceding the present invasion, marauding bands of Kafirs have plundered the frontier inhabitants of not fewer than 2000 head of cattle, besides a large number of horses; and of these not more than 500 cattle have been recovered; and it surely would be the very height of absurdity to contend that such spoliation ought to be tamely endured,—or that the inhabitants should submit to be harrassed and plundered as they have been, without punishing the guilty parties. And indeed should it even be proved that the colonists have sometimes been severe in exacting redress, when the plunderers have been detected in *flagrante delicto*, no reasonable man will deem the

visiting of a delinquent with the punishment due to his offences a legitimate ground for a charge of injustice, more especially when it is considered that nine times out of ten he contrives to elude detection altogether.

Let any person of common understanding impartially consider the situation and circumstances of the frontier colonists, and they cannot fail to be convinced that, as a people, an immense amount of unjust opprobrium has been heaped upon them. It is not pretended that they are altogether free from blame, or that some of them have not even committed crimes which excite feelings of humility for the degraded fallen character of man. But it is contended that dispersed as they are over an immense surface of country, many of them without education, living remote from the means of religious instruction,* constantly harrassed and plundered by the marauding natives;—when all these circumstances are duly pondered, it will excite surprise that so few offences comparatively have been *proved* against them. England, with all its seminaries of instruction, with its numerous Fanes for religious worship, with its energetic laws, and above all with its high principle and abhorrence of wrong, has produced a Thurtel, a Thistlewood, and a

* Many of the frontier farmers reside at a distance of from six to eight days' journey from the nearest church, and yet so highly do they appreciate the ordinances of religion that they frequently travel that distance with their whole families for the purpose of partaking of the sacrament of the Lord's supper which is administered once every three months in the district churches. At such seasons (called the "*nachtmaal*") there is usually a very large congregation, many attending from the remotest part of the district. Indeed the general veneration in which such services are regarded makes it much to be regretted that the means of religious instruction are supplied with such a niggard hand by the government of the country. Greatly is it to be deplored that

"The sound of the church-going bell,"

is not heard at least within the limits of every field-cornetcy.

Cook; and yet without the shadow of an imputation that its high professions were fallacious, or that the people in the mass were the abettors of those whose crimes were speedily followed by the extreme penalty of the laws.

In illustration of the manner in which charges are got up against the Frontier Colonists, a notable instance may be adduced from the work of Mr. Pringle, to which we have had such frequent occasions to refer. At page 367, of his "African Sketches," he quotes from a letter which he states he had received a few weeks before from a colonist, who he describes as a most respectable and trustworthy person, but whose name he does not publish, lest "it should expose him to bitter colonial persecution." This respectable person states, according to Mr. Pringle, that "he was travelling some little time ago, over the dreary wastes near the northern frontier, in company with a Field-Cornet,"—whose name also is not mentioned, doubtless from the like praiseworthy motives; but who was likewise "one of the most respectable inhabitants, and withal of a very frank and honest character. "He was commenting," it is said, "on the measures, *then in progress*, for establishing a sort of *cordon sanitaire*, in order to cut off all intercourse with those parts of the interior where the *Small Pox* was raging destructively among the native tribes."

The respectable, but nameless, correspondent of Mr. Pringle, then relates the purport of a conversation, in which a horrible atrocity towards the Bushmen is unfolded, and in which the *respectable* Field-Cornet admits that he was himself an actor. This worthy, after confessing

the deed, proceeds to moralize upon the iniquities—not of himself but—of his neighbours, in a strain which could not fail to be quite edifying, were it not that the subject is carried, either by Mr. Pringle or by his correspondent, a little too far. unfortunately for one of them, amidst all the drapery in which the parties are enfolded, the *cloven foot* protrudes, and mars the whole plot. Toward the close of this conversation, a digression is made to the destruction of the Ficani, which there will be occasion hereafter to refer to, and the Field-Cornet is made to say—“*But all this I hear your English missionaries defend;*” and lest this covert attack—for which the whole episode appears to be introduced—should not be understood, Mr. Pringle has explained in a note that the allusion is made “to a letter by Mr. Boyce, a Wesleyan missionary, inserted in the *South African Advertiser* for March 13th, 1833, defending the justice and expediency” of that proceeding. Now if the reader will only bear in mind that this conversation is said to have taken place when the small pox raged among the natives beyond the northern boundary, viz., at the close of 1831, and will then refer to the date of Mr. Boyce’s letter, he will find that it was not written till fifteen or sixteen months subsequently. It is by such arts as these that the frontier inhabitants are injured and traduced; by such means that the public mind has been poisoned, and the sympathy of the government for their situation almost, if not altogether, suppressed.

It is often startling to find the length to which not only the designing politician, but also the well-meaning but Utopian philanthropist, will proceed in experiments on the patience and forbearance of a

people in order to attain the accomplishment of some particular and favourite object; of this a notable instance is afforded in the history of the late Dr. Van der Kemp, who was a man, in many points, deserving of great commendation and respect. His sincerity and his devotion to benefit the people amongst whom he had been providentially led, are unquestionable; But he unfortunately blundered at the very outset of his career; and his proceedings afterwards were all indicative of his faulty eccentricity of character.* To raise a people from a state of degradation, the most unexceptionable mode is not by descending to their level, by imbibing their prejudices, or by joining their community and separating from that to which he properly belongs. But this has been the great fault of too many excellent men, in other respects, on this Frontier; and we are now smarting under the ill consequences of such imprudencies. The following passage, from an extract of a letter from the late Dr. Van der Kemp, to His Majesty's Fiscal, will shew clearly the tone of feeling of the writer, and fully illustrate our argument:—"When," observes

*These remarks were penned when the writer accidentally met with, for the first time, Cairns' "*Lives of eminent Missionaries*," a work written in a truly catholic spirit; in which the author takes precisely the same view as this of the character of Dr. VAN DER KEMP. The following quotation will abundantly confirm this:—"The persuasion on which he (the Dr.) acted, that in order to be very useful to the Hottentots it was necessary to descend to their standard of manners and tastes, was a very mistaken one. * * * The missionary should not forget that he lives for the world at large, as well as for the little fold he has gathered; and that an African kraal or desert may not shroud a sad and glaring inconsistency." We do not quote this remark but with considerable pain; nevertheless we are impelled to do so from public considerations. Dr. VAN DER KEMP had great failings, but he possessed also extraordinary qualifications. Hence it is dangerous in the extreme to hold him up as a model for christian missionaries. His zeal and his entire devotion to the work are worthy of imitation; his eccentricities and his habits cannot be too strongly deprecated.

he, "the land is cleared from the scourge of the wicked Christian, as they call themselves, it will be a safe abode of the heathen, whom God will receive and bless, and who, united with a small portion of true Christians, who will be spared, will form a happy society." From the postscript to this letter we learn, that two farms had been attacked by the Hottentots; at one they had murdered 3 farmers, at the other 14 persons had been savagely butchered; they had also carried off much booty, &c. "You ask," says he, "if government be compelled, when the Hottentots attack the great Boers, to meet force with force; and if, in such a case, you are not justified in ordering a commando out, provided it act *defensively* only? I say without hesitation, no. There is no need to dilate on the absurdity of all this—of men tamely submitting to be butchered and plundered—or of the advice given to the government not to punish the criminals, or to afford protection to the exposed inhabitants.

There can be little hesitation in ascribing most of those deplorable excesses which have been committed on this frontier to the adoption of such advice as was tendered in this instance;—to inertness in the suppression of inroads, and generally to a vacillating and mistaken policy on the part of the colonial government towards the native tribes; and although this may have arisen out of the best motives, it has not the less been productive of the most disastrous consequences to the peace and prosperity of the frontier inhabitants.

In the year 1793 the Landdrost of Graaff-Reinet, Mr. Maynier, was employed to clear the country westward of the Fish River, a duty which he effected so far as to drive the Kafirs to the woods and fast-

nesses of their own territories, making with them a hollow and unsubstantial peace ; but he had no sooner turned his back, than these faithless people returned to their former position, where they continued unmolested, until two years afterwards, when the colony had been captured by the British arms, the Kafir chiefs attacked the British troops, and being joined by many Hottentots, they spread devastation over the country, and committed enormities of the blackest and most atrocious character.*

Four years subsequently to this, Earl Macartney assumed the reins of government ; and it is admitted on all hands that the policy adopted towards the native tribes was, at this period, unquestionably characterized by "a spirit of justice and benevolence."† Yet so dangerous did he view any intercourse between them and the colonists to the peace and well-being of the colony, that by a proclamation of the 14th July, 1898, all intercourse was entirely prohibited ; and passing the boundary rendered the offender liable to corporeal punishment ; and even to Death itself, at the discretion of the court ; agreeably to an unrepealed proclamation of governor Van Plattenberg and council of the 3d April, 1774.

Thirteen years after the date of Earl Macartney's proclamation, we find Sir John Cradock, who then held the reins of government, promulgating order after order to the same effect, and from which we also clearly gather that in the interim no improvement whatever had taken place, in the daring aggressions of the Kafirs within the colonial boundary. "Whereas, says his Excellency, "it has been represented to me, by the landdrosts of Graaff-Reinet and

*See Mr. SAXE BANNISTER's "*Humane Policy*."

†Vide PRINGLE, page 421.

Uitenhage, that notwithstanding the repeated promises of several of the petty Kafir chiefs, wandering in the Zuureveld, to return to their own country over the Great Fish River, they still continue to annoy the inhabitants of those remote districts, and to plunder the Farmers to a very great extent, and that they have in several recent instances murdered His Majesty's subjects whom they fell in with. Now in order to put a stop to these calamities, I have authorized the Landdrosts of Graaff-Reinet and Uitenhage to assemble a commando, for the purpose of driving these marauders-out of the districts: and I have thought proper to send a military force, under Lieut.-Col. Graham, to support the same, having appointed that officer commissioner for all civil and military affairs," &c.*

It was during the operations of this commando that a notable instance of the treachery of the Kafir character was displayed in the murder of Mr. Stockenstrom, the landdrost of Graaff-Reinet. Mr. T. Pringle, the ready apologist of the Kafirs on every occasion, and the accuser of the colonists, has portrayed this catastrophe in colours sufficiently dark to shew that the bad opinion formed of this people, by Sir John Cradock, was perfectly well founded. Mr. Pringle's account of this massacre is quoted in preference to any other, because none will think of charging him with a leaning towards the barbarian natives; and hence the most scrupulous may form an opinion without a suspicion of being unduly biassed in favour of the colonists.

Mr. Pringle states, that Mr. Stockenstrom's "character for prudence, justice, and humanity, stood so high that, at the period now referred to, he had ac-

* Vide Proclamation of the 8th October, 1811.

quired not only the respect of the colonists and Hottentots, but also the confidence of the frontier Kafirs." After some further remarks, he goes on to say, "The colonial troops entered the Zuureveld in three divisions; the right commanded by Major (now Col.) Cuyler,—the centre by Capt. Frazer, accompanied by the commander in chief, Col. Graham,—and the left by Landdrost Stockenstrom. On the morning of the 28th December Mr. Stockenstrom left his camp at the foot of the Zuurberg, on the northern side, in charge of his son, Ensign (now Captain) Stockenstrom, and proceeded across the mountains with about forty men, in order to have an interview with Col. Graham. On their route they had to pass along the narrow ridge, called "Slagter's Nek, which connects two arms of the great mountain chain. Mr. Stockenstrom and his party on approaching this, perceived numerous bands of Kafirs issuing from the thickets, and assembling on both sides of the footpath by which they had to travel along the narrow ridge, in order to reach the opposite high land. Some of the boers strongly urged the necessity for caution in approaching these bands; others thought it the best policy to be before-hand with the Kafirs by at once attacking them. Mr. Stockenstrom, however, who had great confidence in the more magnanimous part of the Kafir character, viewed this as a fine opportunity for exerting himself to prevent bloodshed, by persuading the Kafirs, in an amicable conference, to leave the country without further hostile operations.* Contrary, therefore, to the advice of his most confidential counsellors—the Field-Cornets Potgieter and Greyling—he rode straight up to

* During the present irruption the same erroneous opinion, has led to the same fatal result, viz.,—the cool-blooded massacre of Messrs. J. Brown and Whittaker, English Settlers;—vide subsequent narrative.

the phalanx of Kafir warriors, and dismounted in the midst of them. This confidence appeared to have at once conciliated their good will. The chiefs and principal men formed a circle around this venerable magistrate. The two Field-Cornets and several other burghers had followed their leader closely, determined to share whatever hazard his generous confidence might incur. The number of Kafirs increased every moment, but the conference was still of the most amicable nature, insomuch that even the most suspicious of the boers had relinquished all distrust, and mixed indiscriminately with the Africans. Mr. Stockenstrom was smoking with the chiefs in the most friendly and familiar manner, and was apparently making great progress in the object he had at heart, when one of the party perceived a dense mass of Kafirs keeping aloof in the deeper recesses of the thicket, and evidently communicating by messengers with some of the chiefs near them, who began to appear disturbed and agitated.

“It was at this moment that the boer who had observed their signs of bustle and agitation, hinted his suspicions to his commander. Mr. Stockenstrom, whose attention had been occupied with the amicable discussion in which he was still engaged with some of the other chiefs, replied with a smile that there was no danger ; but scarcely were the words uttered, when a frightful yell—the Kafir war-whoop—pealed the signal of destruction, and the shout was wildly re-echoed through the adjacent hills and dales for many miles round. A simultaneous rush was made upon the colonists from all sides. The tragic scene was brief. Mr. Stockenstrom and fourteen of his men fell pierced by innumerable wounds ”

It is impossible, it is presumed, for any one to read the foregoing account of this diabolical massacre

without feelings of the deepest indignation and abhorrence at the perpetration of so foul a deed. Every generous sympathy of our nature is enlisted on the side of the benevolent Stockenstrom and his brave companions, in their hazardous and too fatal endeavour to subdue by kindness the savage tempers of the barbarian invaders; and yet it would appear that even this, powerful as it is, may be repressed by a spirit of party feeling, and by an anxiety to make every circumstance, however untoward, bend to the support of some favorite hypothesis. Hence, in this case Mr. Pringle has endeavoured to find an apology for the Kafirs, and at the same time to heap additional obloquy on the frontier farmers: as, however, he confesses that neither the one or the other is supported by a tittle of proof, the unavoidable inference is, that both have been brought forward to gratify a feeling, which, to say the least, is certainly not to be envied.

On the 4th December, 1812, the success of the operations conducted by the colonial forces, under the command of Colonel Graham, was announced to the public in a Proclamation, which embodies precisely the same sentiments, with regard to the sufferings of the colonists from Kafir plunder, as that already cited. "Whereas," says this document, "the Eastern Frontier of this settlement has been entirely cleared from the hordes of Kafirs, *who have for so many years molested the inhabitants of those distant districts*; and whereas it is now incumbent upon me to take such measures as shall provide for the future security of the frontier, and effectually prevent a recurrence of those calamities, which have rendered desart the most fertile part of this His Majesty's settlement; I, therefore, direct the orders that exist for preventing all intercourse with the Kafir people,

to be strictly enforced," &c.* Shortly afterwards this order was repeated in an edict, which set forth—"Whereas, it is *publicly known and acknowledged by every person in this settlement* that, by the late expulsion of the Kafir tribes—a barbarous and perpetual enemy—accomplished through the bravery and patience of the several commandoes, aided by His Majesty's forces, Divine Providence has conferred a blessing on the inhabitants of this colony, *hitherto unknown*," &c. Again the following year the same authority, alluding to the re-occupation of the Zuureveldt, congratulates the inhabitants on having recovered that part of the colony from "those *savage and destructive enemies, the Kafirs*."†

Immediately after the publication of the proclamation, of which the latter is an extract, Lord C. H. Somerset assumed the government of the colony; and it was not long before his attention was directed to the state of the Eastern frontier, and to the character of the Kafir hordes contiguous. But still we find the same opinions and declarations officially promulgated. In the year 1817, His Lordship visited the Eastern Frontier, having been called to proceed thither, as he himself announced in a government advertisement, by the frequent and daring outrages and depredations committed on the colonists by the people of the Kafir nation.†† On the 2d May, His Lordship had a conference with the chief Gaika on the Kat River, in the presence of the late missionary Williams—who appears to have been a most respectable, zealous, and amiable man—of Lieut.-Col. Cuyler and others. Mr. Williams has left a record of what passed on this occasion, and we prefer giving his

* Vide Proclamation of the 14th May, 1812.

† Do. do. 28th January, 1814.

†† Vide Government advertisement of the 13th April, 1817.

version of it, to that furnished from any other quarter.

After the conference had been opened, "His Lordship," remarks the narrator, "first stated to Gaika his object in visiting him, viz.—to propose such measures as he conceived would effectually prevent in future the plunderings and murders which the colonists had hitherto suffered from the Kafirs. To this Gaika replied, that he knew nothing of the persons who were guilty of these crimes*; but if he could find any who were guilty he would punish them with death. His Excellency then proceeded to solicit Gaika to use his influence to put a stop to the depredations committed by his people on the colonists,—to acquaint them that, in future, when cattle were stolen from the colony, and traced into any particular Kafir kraal, that kraal should be held responsible for the cattle stolen, although they might not be actually found there; and that the kraal to which they were traced should be bound to replace the number of cattle stolen from the colony. Gaika very readily consented to these propositions, and said, with regard to the last, that it would be the right way to prevent in future any from secreting the thieves. His Lordship asked if he would assist his people in compelling those kraals to which the cattle were traced to return an equal number of cattle, should such cases occur and should he be called on. To this also he readily consented. His Excellency further asked if he would collect and send out the cattle, horses, and run-away slaves, which were in his country? He said, for his own part he would give up all that he could collect among his own people; but that there were other chiefs who claimed independance, and that

* We believe it was never known that a Kafir ever admitted himself to be guilty of a crime, until fully and unequivocally convicted of it. ED.

some of them were present to hear and answer for themselves. The governor, however, did not think proper to acknowledge any other chief besides Gaika. He considered that what he agreed to, the others were bound to comply with. His Lordship also proposed a bartering intercourse between the two nations, and said, that for that purpose he would allow the Kafirs to come to Graham's Town twice in the year for two days at each time, to bring such things as they had to dispose of, and to purchase such articles as they had occasion for; but that none should be allowed to come without permission and passes from Gaika; that should Gaika himself need any thing in the interval he could have it by sending; but that he would be considered responsible for the conduct of those who came, and that, therefore, he should be cautious as to whom he gave passes.

"While His Lordship was thus calling his attention to the affairs of his nation in a political point of view, Gaika very abruptly broke into another subject in the following terms:—It is much to our disgrace that we go forth to steal now that we have God's word among us; but the fact is the Kafirs will not hear it."*

At the close of this conference His Excellency presented Gaika with a beautiful grey horse, together with a great variety of articles in request among the Kafir people, and which called forth, it seems, a fair specimen of the cupidity and irrepressible avarice displayed by them in all their transactions, and to which principle may be traced the continual plunder of the frontier inhabitants. "So greedy was Gaika," observes Mr. Williams, "that he could not wait a moment to examine separately what was presented to him, although Col. Cuyler was at the pains of opening each parcel for that purpose; the articles

* Vide Dr. Philip's Researches, page 173.

were no sooner put into his hand than they were laid on the ground and his hand stretched out for more. When he had done receiving, he fled instantly like a thief to the other side of the river where he halted for a little time and then returned to the place whence he came in the morning."

Lord C. H. Somerset in this conference committed two very palpable errors. One of these we have already adverted to, viz.—that of treating with Gaika as the Sovereign or representative of the Kafir nation, whereas Gaika himself stated distinctly that he exercised no control over many other chiefs; and, indeed, it was well known that some of them were his superiors both in rank and in power, besides which, it was also understood that his character was such as to give him no weight beyond the pale of his own particular tribe.

But a still more glaring error was the plan proposed for the repression of plunder, or rather, for the punishment of the plunderer. Though the Kafir is unacquainted with numbers he is a shrewd calculator, and where the chances are in his favour he will seldom fail to take advantage of the circumstance. To annex to the commission of plunder, no penalty on its detection was certainly the very best mode to tempt him to make inroads on his colonial neighbours,—to augment rather than subdue the mischief. Nine times out of ten the plunderer cannot be traced so far as to convict the guilty parties and hence the measure in question was an irresistible temptation to the commission of depredations. It was a point impossible to be overlooked, or its advantages unappreciated by them, it being so directly opposed to their own laws and customs, in cases of this character. According to these "theft is always punished by fining the culprit. Thus if a person steal a cow and

slaughter it at his own kraal every one implicated is obliged to pay a beast to the plaintiff, so that it frequently happens that a theft is repaired twenty fold."

A violent outcry has been raised against Lord C. H. Somerset for his official conduct as Governor of the Cape, and the most bitter obloquy has been heaped upon his memory. Without entering upon a refutation of these charges in general, or pretending even to understand them fully, it may be boldly affirmed that with regard to the Kafir people a decidedly false impression has been made on the public mind, originating with those whose particular views had been thwarted by His Lordship, and who have taken this means of heaping on his character a considerable weight of public odium.*

His Lordship unquestionably committed great errors in the line of policy adopted by him towards the Kafirs; but all of these, without attributing them to the blackest perfidity and most dishonorable motives, may be traced to a deviation from that straight path which diplomatists and courtiers find it in general so difficult to keep. He evidently expected, notwithstanding his professions, to preserve the tranquility of the frontier by a trimming policy, to circumvent the cunning of the natives, by superior shrewdness and address, and hence it was necessary to have recourse to many little arts and shifts which

* The following passage from Mr. T. PRINGLE, page 442, will give a notable illustration of this. "In the course of the year 1823, Lord CHARLES, by a variety of dexterous manœuvres, which it is not my present purpose to detail, had in a great measure accomplished his views in regard to the promotion of his sons, and Major HENRY SOMERSET attained the chief command on the frontier. In the meanwhile His Lordship's policy towards the Kafirs had once more produced its inevitable effects. Provoked, goaded, plundered, often without cause, and the innocent punished for the guilty, they had renewed their retaliatory and predatory incursions." Thus it is to the present day. Call for adequate protection, and you are immediately taxed with sinister motives by those who are far removed from the scene of danger.

would have been in perfect keeping with the character of those with whom he had to deal, but was beneath his station as the representative of the British Nation.

Here Lord C. Somerset—notwithstanding his admitted talents and address—completely failed ; and it may afford a salutary lesson to future Governors who are called to establish relations between a civilized and a barbarous people, to be careful that no deviation is permitted from that high path of rectitude—from that plain, manly, straight-forward policy—which will admit of no equivocation, and which will never fail to command the respect both of friends and of enemies, however untutored and however dishonest.

That the policy of the colonial government at this period was of a mild and benevolent cast may be proved from a variety of sources. But it requires more than this, it must also be inflexible, prompt, and decisive. According to Kafir interpretation, forbearance is weakness, indecision a want of courage, and liberality a defect of understanding ; hence it requires no great forecast to perceive that if ever the safety of the colony is effectually preserved against the attacks of the natives, all our measures must be based on a principle of equity, openly avowed, and acted up to with unswerving fidelity.*

But besides the treaty with Gaika His Lordship adopted at this time another measure of importance, namely the appointment of Government Agents in Kaffraria. Accordingly the Rev. Messrs. Brownlee and Thompson—the former in connection with the London and the latter with the Glasgow Missionary

* Mr. T. Pringle has given the same view of the subject. "Let the Kafirs," says he, "see clearly that we are resolved henceforth neither to *do*, nor to *endure* wrong, and I will venture to predict that we shall have all, except a few habitual rogues on both sides of the boundary,—zealously devoted to the support of an equitable frontier system." Vide "African Sketches," page 476.

Society*—were appointed to this important office. The instructions issued to these gentlemen are dated 1819 and 1820, and breathe throughout such a desire to promote the civilization and moral improvement of the natives, as cannot be too highly commended, and may, with those examples which have been already adduced, be put forth as a sufficient refutation of those charges of unfeeling cruelty, and reckless indifference to the situation of the natives with which this colony, during the administration of its affairs by Lord C. Somerset, has been so roundly charged.

"Independant," observes His Lordship on this occasion, "of the gratification a liberal and feeling mind must experience from having it in its power to aid in spreading the arts of civilized society among hordes still in a state of the grossest barbarism; his excellency is convinced that he shall better consult the immediate interests of the settlements committed to his charge, and put more easily a stop to those inhuman massacres and ruinous plunderings which take place on our borders by complying with the wish of the Kafir chief to have a zealous and enlightened instructor sent to him. His excellency's chief object, next to this of religious instruction, is that you should constantly impress upon the chiefs his friendly feelings in their regard; that you should explain to them his wish that the border now fixed for the two nations should not be violated by either: that on his part he

* It is to be lamented that both these gentlemen have long since ceased to act as government agents. Mr. Brownlee, shortly after Mr. Thompson's appointment, resigned, and returned to his missionary labours, under the auspices of the London Society; the latter, on the formation of the Kat River Settlement in 1829, was removed thither as minister of the Dutch Reformed Church, in which capacity he has acquired the respect and veneration of all around him for his undeviating kindness and ardent zeal in promoting their temporal and eternal interests. He still, however, up to this date is designated on the official returns as "government agent in Kafiraria," and receives his salary in that capacity. This glaring anomaly certainly ought not to be permitted.

is prepared to punish any colonist who shall commit the most trifling offence against the Kafir people, and that it is but just in return that the Kafir chiefs should on their parts seek out and punish those who commit depredations and murders in our territory." In a subsequent paragraph it is remarked—"Nothing can be more clear than the immorality of the Kafir aggression on the colony,—nothing more distinct than the peaceable and friendly views of the colonial government towards the Kafirs. It requires, therefore, that they should be convinced of their injustice, and that they should see the impolicy of their proceedings. If they live at peace with the colony, their own welfare may be secured by it, and their wants supplied; a contrary system brings upon them those evils which have visited their people ever since it became necessary to repel them from our territory."

No better illustration can be given of the justice of those charges made against the Kafirs, on this occasion, of inhuman murders and daring plunder, as well as in the several other official documents which have already been quoted, than the following circumstance which is recorded by Mr. Pringle as having taken place the year previous to the date of the foregoing instructions. "The Kafirs", observes the narrator, "had menaced the Moravian village (in the Zuurberg) with nightly attacks, and as it was well known that parties of them were lurking in the vicinity, the cattle of the community were constantly guarded by ten or twelve of the most courageous and steady Hottentots, armed with guns. The Kafirs had determined, however, at all hazards to possess themselves of this fine herd of cattle belonging to the settlement. and they proved successful.

"The Hottentots had one day driven the cattle into one of the open spots, or woodland prairies, and

observing no fresh traces of the enemy, seated themselves in a group, about a hundred paces from the side of the jungle, and began to smoke their pipes, each with his loaded gun lying beside him on the grass. The Kafirs, who were eagerly watching all their motions from the neighbouring heights, judged that this was a favourable opportunity to attack them. Creeping through the thicket with the stealthy pace of the panther, they advanced cautiously to the skirts of the copsewood nearest to the herdsmen, and there crouching in silence till they observed the incautious men earnestly engaged in conversation, and with their faces turned in a different direction, they burst out upon them suddenly with their frightful war-whoop. Pouring in a shower of assegais as they rushed forward, they almost instantly closed, club in hand, with the few not already transfixed by their missiles. So sudden and unexpected was the onset, that only two out of the ten Hottentots had time to fire. Two of the assailants fell; but their loss was bloodily avenged by the slaughter of nine of the herdsmen, one only of the number escaping by flying to the jungle with two assegais sticking in his body: and the cattle of the settlement, to the number of about 1,000 head, became a prey to the enemy."

"The men thus slain were among the best and most industrious of the little community, and all of them left wives and families to deplore their untimely fate. The event overwhelmed the settlement with dismay; and as the cattle were the chief support of the inhabitants, and an attack upon the village itself was nightly anticipated, the institution itself was soon after abandoned, and the missionaries and their followers took refuge in the district-town of Uitenhage, where they were received with much sympathy."*

* Vide "*African Sketches*," page 215.

The ruinous consequences to the frontier colonists at this period by the daring plunder of the Kafirs is indeed vividly portrayed by every one who has given a history of the times, however disposed they may have been to paint the Kafir character in the most favorable colors. Dr. Philip admits that their attacks were formidable, and he describes the people of Theopolis as having had the fruits of their industry lost, their harvests destroyed, and their cattle stolen by these desolating marauders. That "the boors were not able to resist them, had fled, abandoned their farms, and some their cattle and other property; that the few who remained were in succession attacked, plundered of their cattle, had their houses burnt, and were compelled to fly; that all the smaller military posts were abandoned; and that the greatest panic spread not only through the Zuurveld, but also through part of the adjoining districts; that the Kafirs proceeded as far as the village of Uitenhage, and took some cattle from a farm situated twelve miles in the rear of that drostdy."*

Such is a description of the state of the country just at the moment of the arrival of the British settlers, and in the midst, as it were, of this sea of discord were they left to the mercy of the winds and waves of accident. Lord C. Somerset had, however, just previous to their arrival left the colony for Europe, and the government was then administered by Sir R. S. Donkin. It is but just to this officer to say that every possible exertion was used by him to ensure the success of the emigrants, and to repress the plunders of the Kafir tribes. In recurring to the public measures adopted at this period, it is evident that some indistinct notions were formed of the proper line of policy which ought to be pur-

* Vide "*Researches in South Africa*," vol. 1, page 257 and 258.

sued in our intercourse with them, and it is probable, that had they been followed out, the country might have been saved from those calamities which have now overtaken it. One of those measures was the occupation of the ceded territory, a settlement being formed on the Beka River, principally by half-pay officers and discharged soldiers of the African Corps, —a regiment which had just been disbanded. A Fair was also established on the banks of the Keiskamma, near Fort Willshire, for traffic between the colonists and Kafirs, and considerable energy and activity were displayed in the repression of Kafir depredations. Unfortunately the administration of Sir R. Donkin was too brief for his measures to arrive at maturity, or to be fully developed; and more unfortunate still was it that a personal misunderstanding between that officer and Lord C. Somerset should have led, on the return of the latter, to the total subversion of every measure of frontier policy adopted in his absence. With unseemly haste the settlement on the Beka was abandoned,—all traffic with the natives forbid,*—and shortly afterwards a law was promulgated reviving the proclamations of Earl Macartney and General Janssens which have already been referred to, and which render persons crossing the Fish River liable to corporal punishment or death,†—forgetting at the time that the village of Cradock, with a population of 150 British subjects, had been established by government itself several years before on the eastern bank of the stream, and consequently within the prohibited territory!

The deplorable altercations which ensued between those two public characters need not be dwelt upon, the whole subject matter of their disputes having been in-

* Vide Proclamation of the 13th Sept. 1822.

† Do. do. 28th Nov. 1823.

vestigated by the Commissioners of Inquiry, and published by order of Parliament.* It is, nevertheless, proper that this altercation should be referred to, in order that those at a distance may clearly understand the difficulties which the inhabitants of this frontier have had to contend with. Lamentable, indeed, is it to perceive—but still the conclusion is unavoidable—that Lord C. Somerset should, from exasperated feelings towards Sir R. Donkin, have adopted a line of policy contrary, in many particulars, to his better judgment; and should have been led to subvert measures, many of which, under other circumstances, would there is no question, have met with his entire concurrence.

All, however, who have leisure to refer to the published documents of the day, will find that neither during the administration of Sir R. Donkin, or subsequently while Lord C. Somerset continued to hold the reins of power, was there any cessation of Kafir plunder. This will be seen from the recrimination of those authorities where the plunder and murders of the Kafirs are attributed alternately by each to the system of policy laid down and pursued during their respective administrations. Waiving, therefore, any argument, which might be drawn from their statements, it will be sufficient to refer to the memorial addressed to his majesty's government at that period by the British settlers, and forwarded to the Secretary of State for the colonies. It is only necessary to quote the concluding part of this document, as that alone has a direct reference to the frontier system. The extract on this point will not be read by any having an interest in Albany, even at this distance of time, without awakening recollections of the most painful interest.†

* Vide Parliamentary Papers for 1827, Nos. 371 and 444.

† This Memorial is dated 10th March, 1823.

After adverting to the injurious consequences of the vacillating policy which had been pursued by the colonial government in the management of their affairs, it goes on to state—"that the most pressing and insupportable of their grievances arose from the constant depredations of the Kafirs, who had within a few months committed several murders, and deprived the settlement of the greater part of its cattle; that these depredations were in a great measure produced by relinquishing that line of policy which held out to those tribes a hope of procuring by friendly barter such commodities as their acquired wants had rendered necessary, and which they were then obliged to procure by theft or force; by discountenancing and withdrawing the military force from the new settlement of Fredericksburg, and permitting the Kafirs to plunder and force the Settlers to retire, and ultimately to burn it to the ground; by withdrawing from the Fish River a line of posts which had previously effectually protected the settlers; by refusing aid to the more advanced farmers, plundering parties had been encouraged to drive those in, and afterwards to extend the incursions to all parts of the settlement, and even beyond it; by exasperating that tribe which had hitherto preserved the appearances of friendship in attempting to seize their chief, (Gaika) in his own village;* and by withholding from the local military authorities that discretionary power with which they were formerly vested, which by enabling them to enforce summary restitution, shewed the Kafirs that the

* The Commissioners of Enquiry in their report on the charges which had been preferred against Lord C. Somerset by Sir R. Donkin, observe—"The depredations by the Kafirs were certainly much increased in the years 1822 and 1823; and we have equally to express our regret at the consequences of the irregular incursions of the boors into the Kafir country, and of the attempt that was made to seize the person of the chief Gaika for detaining the cattle of the missionaries and of the Kafirs who resided with them.

offence must instantly be followed by punishment : whereas by waiting the decision of the Commander-in-chief, 600 miles distant, in every emergency, offences were allowed to accumulate to an alarming amount ; and the slender means of defence the settlement possesses, deprived of the power of acting with promptitude, was forced to present to the Kafirs at once the appearance of enmity and weakness.

“That the settlers refrained from adverting to other numerous and serious obstacles to the prosperity of the settlement, arising from the system of government and laws to which they were subjected, from the enlivening assurance that those considerations continued to occupy the attention of his majesty’s ministers. When they contemplated the immense resources of fertile and unappropriated territory this colony possesses in their immediate vicinity, and the provident care of the British government to preserve the future inhabitants from the contamination of slavery, they could not but cherish the hope that their present distresses were only temporary, and that at no distant period a numerous and flourishing colony would be here governed upon British principles and by British laws.”

It would be futile to follow Lord C. Somerset through the successive stages of his government ; it will suffice to say, that finding the current of public opinion set strongly against him, and being unable to disprove to the satisfaction of his majesty’s government many of the allegations contained in the foregoing memorial, he at once altered his line of policy, using every means to soften down those feelings of hostility which were not only plainly visible, but which had been openly avowed by the British inhabitants. Accordingly the Kafir fair at Fort Willshire commenced by Sir R. Donkin, and which had been discontinued, was recommenced in 1824. A commission for adjusting the

claims to the Settlers to lands was appointed, and his Lordship himself came in person on the frontier, and endeavoured, by conciliatory measures, to soften down or remove all those asperities, which had been to him a source of so much annoyance. To such a length was his Lordship disposed to make concessions, that even the Landdrost of the district, who had made himself unpopular only by too faithfully executing the instructions of his superior, was removed, and at the recommendation of the Commissioners of Inquiry, at that period in the colony, an officer of high character for public spirit, independancy of feeling, and activity and energy of mind, was appointed to the vacant office.

Still such strong representations had been made at home of his Lordship's mal-administration of the Cape; that he deemed it necessary, shortly after this visit, to proceed to London, in order to meet a Parliamentary enquiry, which was expected to take place in consequence. It is but just, in closing the history of this eventful period, to say that most of those charges were entirely abandoned soon after his Lordship's arrival; those members who had undertaken to bring the matter before the House quickly discovered that although there was much to condemn, still that the statements made to them were gross exaggerations,—in short that they had been the dupes of those who, under the shew of patriotism, were endeavouring to gratify a bitter and malevolent personal feeling. The charges were in consequence abandoned, and his Lordship was permitted to close a life of considerable activity, and of much political toil and excitement, in comparative peace, and whilst in the enjoyment of domestic retirement.

Here we willingly draw a veil over the foibles and the mistakes of the departed. He doubtless com-

mitted errors*—and what man is free from them?—but he has also done much which ought and must entitle him to the grateful remembrance of many of the colonists. We allude to his efforts to improve the *agriculture* of the colony. Through his exertions and encouragement a very considerable improvement has taken place in the breed of horses, cattle, and sheep. By this means live stock has greatly increased in value, and is at this moment rising into great importance. It has been said that “he who makes two blades of grass to grow where only one grew before deserves well of his country;” and if this be true, then most assuredly he who improves the domestic resources of a country, and thus adds to the comfort of the people, is deserving of a high meed of praise, and he will most assuredly receive it when the tongue of flattery is silent, and the breath of enmity can no longer dim the memory of the departed.

It will, however, be necessary to recur back to the arrival of Major General Bourke, on the 9th Feb. 1826. This officer had been appointed Lieutenant-Governor, pursuant to the recommendation of H. M. Commissioners of Inquiry,—they having set forth in strong terms the necessity of such an appointment; assigning, among other reasons, that the separation of the government of the eastern and western portions of the colony “had become necessary from the increased pressure of business and correspondence with the remoter districts on the frontier, occasioned by the settlement of the English emigrants; the importance of applying some uniform and consistent

* Perhaps one of the most flagrant errors committed by his Lordship, was permitting himself to be dragooned by Mr. T. Pringle—the author of “*African Sketches*”—so far as to grant a fine farm on the Mancanzana to a brother of his not in the colony, and who has never set a foot in it. The land so granted has since been sold to a deserving Scotch settler, to whom government refused to grant any land, for a sum of about four thousand six-dollars.

principles to the intercourse of the colonists with the Kafir and other tribes; of preventing their collision; and checking the desultory warfare that had prevailed along a considerable portion of the frontier."* The month following his arrival, Lord C. Somerset quitted the colony—for ever,—and Major.-Gen. Bourke assumed the reins of government at the Cape.

On recurring to this period, it is clearly apparent that General Bourke arrived in the colony with special instructions to adopt in his frontier policy the soothing system; to treat the natives with the utmost mildness, and to prohibit most scrupulously every thing like severity towards them, or undue interference with their affairs on the part of the colonists. A powerful impression had evidently been made on the government at home that hitherto the colonists had presented an attitude far too warlike, and that the Kafirs were an ill-used and calumniated people. Impressed with these feelings, and possessing himself a truly benevolent disposition, the Lieut.-Governor entered upon his duty by using every means to conciliate and acquire the good-will of the frontier chiefs. Presents were made to them, and permission granted to their people to pass with produce for sale to Graham's Town and Somerset. But notwithstanding all these measures the frontier inhabitants were still plundered as before, and murder and devastation still marked the footsteps of these incorrigible marauders. His Excellency himself visited the frontier,—examined on the spot into every allegation for and against the Kafirs, and endeavoured by all means in his power to preserve the inhabitants from pillage, and to repress any feeling of enmity which might lurk in their minds.

* Vide Parliamentary Papers. Report of the Commissioners of Inquiry of 6th Sept. 1826.

against these active despoilers.*

Unfortunately for the colonists the Lieutenant-Governor was totally ignorant of the real character of the Kafir, and consequently all his measures failed to answer the purposes for which they were intended. Major Dundas—then Landdrost of Albany—who possessed great experience, as well as extensive local knowledge, and who was a man of shrewd observation, talent, and decision, judged more accurately, and did not fail to apprise the government that the encrease of depredations might in part be attributed to the injudicious mode of distributing presents to the chiefs,—who were thereby led to incite their people to commit theft, in order that they might claim merit for returning part of the stolen property, and receive a reward for their apparent honesty. Still the system was adhered to; and notwithstanding the Kafirs perpetrated at this period two cruel murders—one at no greater distance than six miles from Graham's Town, and likewise carried off a very large amount in cattle and horses—yet the government were content to have recourse to measures which went directly to encourage rather than suppress the existing disorders.

To such an absurd excess was the system of forbearance carried at this period, that it became a matter of doubt whether the owner of property would be legally justified in recovering it by force from the hands of the robber. Preposterous as this may appear, yet a question to this effect was actually proposed by government to the Attorney General of

* Notwithstanding the strenuous endeavours of Major-General Bourke to live at peace with the Kafirs, and his dislike to Commandos, yet he was ultimately compelled to admit their necessity. Accordingly on the 7th Sept. 1827, the Secretary to Government writes officially—"I am directed by the Lieutenant-Governor to desire you will make known to the Field-Commandants and Field-Cornets, and inhabitants of the district of Albany called out upon the late Commandos, the high sense which he entertains of their loyalty and spirit, and his entire approbation of their orderly and regular behaviour whilst under command."

the colony, and the reply of that officer will shew the length to which principles that are in themselves humane and benevolent may be carried when persons lose sight of the maxims of common sense for refined and new-fangled utopian notions. To those who know the Kafir, and his methods of conducting his plundering expeditions, the reply in question will appear most extravagantly ridiculous. The following extract will sufficiently prove this:—The learned attorney commences with becoming gravity by premising that “no general rule can be laid down applicable to all cases;” but that “when any theft or other serious crime has been committed by these savages, or when they are seen with arms in any considerable numbers, they may be pursued with hue and cry.† The best way,” he continues, “of proceeding in such cases is to give immediate information to the nearest Fieldcornet, whose duty it is then to raise all the neighbouring inhabitants, or at least such a number of them as, from the information given to him, he may deem sufficient for the purpose of apprehending them without bloodshed.

“Should the parties succeed in overtaking the marauders, the person commanding the party should adopt such measures and give such directions as are best calculated for their apprehension without loss of life on either side. In no case should fire-arms or other deadly weapons be used, until all other means have proved abortive.

“Should the life of a Kafir be lost in the affray, it will be the duty of the Clerk of the Peace to institute a preparatory examination; and the duty of the Resident Magistrate to commit or discharge, ac-

* This document is dated June 20, 1828.

† There is nothing on record quite analagous to this, except it be the time out of mind plan of “belling the cat,” or bird-catching by “salt on the tail.”

cording as upon the evidence adduced, it shall appear to him that unnecessary or premature violence was used, or the contrary.

“With submission” adds the learned gentleman “to those who may be better informed on the subject, I do not see there can be much danger or difficulty in apprehending these people when in small numbers, as they usually are, were that patience and forbearance used, which surely ought always to be exercised when the life of a fellow-creature is at stake.”

There is scarcely a sentence in this document which does not betray utter ignorance of the subject on which the writer gives his opinion; the last paragraph borders on the ridiculous. How, indeed, should the Attorney-General, in his office at Cape Town, see much danger or difficulty in apprehending bands of active expert robbers, 600 miles distant? How should he know that they generally choose the hour of darkness to plunder their victims? How should he know that before morning light they are far beyond the colonial boundary? how should he be acquainted with the localities of the country, or with the scattered state of the population? All these queries will admit of an easy solution; the Attorney General knew nothing of the subject on which he wrote, and might, therefore, well have spared that unnecessary caution and that affectation of humanity with which he closes his subject.

It may be interesting to learn the working of this notable plan for the repression of plunder; and it was not long before an incident occurred, which displayed it fully. In the month of September, about three months after it had been officially promulgated, the authorities at Somerset received information that a formidable banditti, composed of run-away Slaves, Bushmen, and Hottentots, had taken up a position

among the mountains at the head of the Mancan-zana, from whence they had made several descents upon the cattle, horses, &c. of the neighbouring farmers; that the latter had endeavoured to defend their property and to capture the ruffians, but that in this attempt one of the robbers had been shot, and a farmer dangerously wounded by a poisoned arrow. Upon receiving this information the authorities at Somerset immediately ordered the farmer who was supposed to have shot the bandit, to be apprehended, and accordingly the poor man was actually incarcerated in the gaol of that village, a distance from his home of about sixty miles, until his case should be submitted to the Governor at Cape Town. Of course this proceeding completely paralyzed the exertions of those who had endeavoured to root out this nest of plunderers, and their depredations were renewed with increased activity.

The public authorities at Somerset, to whom the whole matter had been represented, were resolved not to compromise themselves with the government, or to expose themselves to the misrepresentations of the censorious; and, therefore, positively declined to incur any responsibility; hence they contented themselves with forwarding the representation which had been made to them to the Civil Commissioner at Graham's Town. He, from the same motives, transmitted it to the Governor at Cape Town; and the latter, after a lapse of about three weeks, returned an answer through the Secretary to Government, very coolly informing him that the subject had been referred to the Attorney-General for his opinion!* - Giving an apt

* It is only fair to observe that the opinion of the Attorney-General has since been explained and modified by the several Judges when on circuit through the Frontier Districts. For instance, at the sessions held at Graham's Town, in Oct. 1832, a young farmer named Van der Venter, was arraigned on a charge

illustration of the remark that

“ There is but one step from the sublime to the ridiculous.”

During the long interval which this correspondence occupied, the whole of the neighbourhood, infested by this banditti, was thrown into a state of alarm, and the plunder of the inhabitants was continued with perfect impunity. There is a letter extant, under date 6th Oct. 1828, from Mr. William Pringle, brother of the author of “ African Sketches,” which very powerfully represents the dreadful state they were placed in at this period, and praying that the authorities would afford them some kind of assistance. He states that the Field-Cornet, Van der Nest, had positively refused to afford any aid, from an apprehension of committing himself with government; and that they were left completely exposed to the inroads of the robbers.

This instance, out of many, will be sufficient to shew the absurdity of the views taken by government of the proper line of policy requisite to be adopted for the protection of the inhabitants. Half measures are invariably pernicious, and generally aggravate the mischief which it is their ostensible object to repress. The affectation of humanity which is betrayed in all

of culpable homicide; it was adduced in evidence that the Kafirs had stolen a number of cattle from his father, and that the father and son together pursued the robbers, until, in a dense thicket on the Koonap, the son who was a-head came up with the stolen cattle, driven by two armed Kafirs. The young man finding himself in imminent danger, immediately fired and killed one of them, and re-took the cattle. On the trial, Mr. Justice Kekewich remarked, that “ in looking at the circumstance of this case, and considering the youth and weakness of the prisoner, who was engaged in the lawful act of endeavouring to recover his father's property from the plunderers, he considered that the act of the prisoner was justifiable in the eye of the law. Persons so engaged were not required to expose their own persons unnecessarily, and if property could not be protected by mild measures, then they were authorised to employ force and to use fire arms.” (Vide report of the proceedings of the Circuit Court, in *Graham's Town Journal* for 18th Oct. 1832.)

this is paltry, and will not require exposure. Who does not perceive that inertness in repressing the murders and spoliation to which the inhabitants along this frontier are continually subject, aggravates to an alarming height those evils which might at first, by the exercise of prompt and vigorous measures, be effectually subdued; and that hence much would be gained, not only with respect to property, but also on the score of humanity, were the colonial policy based on a principle of inflexible justice as well as benevolence? Had, for instance, a more rigorous system been adopted towards the Kafirs the hundreds of lives which have been sacrificed during the present warfare would have been saved,—to say nothing of the loss to the country in a pecuniary point of view.

It will now be desirable before proceeding farther to recur to the state of the frontier Kafirs a few months previous to the date of the last incident. At that time, viz.—about the month of May 1828—alarming reports reached the colony, purporting that an immense horde of savages were approaching the boundary from the north-eastward;—that the most sweeping destruction had hitherto marked their progress, and that it appeared very probable the Kafir tribes would either be driven upon the colony, or be speedily extirpated, unless succoured by the colonial power. These reports soon created some uneasiness at the seat of government; and at length Major-General Bourke decided upon dispatching Major Dundas, the then Civil Commissioner for Albany and Somerset, with a small escort composed of active young men, partly English and Dutch, on a mission towards the scene of commotion. The express object of this journey was to gain accurate information respecting the character and apparent intentions of an enemy, who was represented as so formidable, and

whose progress seemed to threaten the colony with a very serious calamity.

This party quitted Graham's Town early in the month of June, and with considerable labour and difficulty crossed the whole of the Amakosa territory. On reaching the adjoining country of the Amapondas it was found almost depopulated; not, however, by the "Fetcani,"—the appellation given to the stranger hordes—but by the Zoola forces under Dingaan. The Amaponda people had been destroyed in great multitudes; the country plundered of its cattle, whilst the few inhabitants who had escaped were sunk into a state of the deepest despondency. Here the party of colonists received information respecting the "Fetcani" from messengers who had been dispatched from the Amatembu tribes, soliciting their assistance against this formidable foe. On receiving this intelligence the small party of colonists turned their steps to the northward, proceeding up towards the sources of the Umtata river, and shortly bivouacked near the residence of Voosani, the great chief of the Amatembu people.

It was at this spot that Major Dundas learnt the true character of the marauders who had struck so much terror throughout the whole of the Kafir country. It was here clearly discovered that they were the same people as had driven the formidable Mantatee army* towards the northern frontier in 1823, and which had occasioned so much alarm at that time throughout the colony. They were described as extremely numerous and formidable, not only from their mode of warfare—making their attacks in general under the cover of night—but from their incredible cruelties, in massacreing every man, woman, and child that had the misfortune to fall into their hands.

* An interesting account of these people is contained in "*Thompson's Travels*," vol. 1, page 383.

The indefatigable traveller, Thompson, whose progress to the northward was stopped by the flying Mantatees at the period referred to, states, that "after the repulse they received from the Griquas, they appear to have divided themselves into two armies. One of them proceeded in a north-easterly direction, (and of these we shall be able to furnish our readers with some account in the sequel,) but the other manifestly came down to the southward, dispersing and plundering the various clans that fell in their way." This account is a little confused, as it turns out not to have been the Mantatees who took that direction, but the victorious Fetcani, with whom they are confounded.

Subsequent events have fully explained all their movements, and it is now ascertained that the affrighted Mantatees, finding themselves stopped in their flight by the guns of the Griquas, suddenly made a retrograde movement, and succeeded in gaining the difficult mountainous country in the rear of the Fetcani, where a great portion of them have continued to maintain themselves to the present day; whilst their pursuers, after spreading desolation throughout the country—of which a memento remains at this hour in the human bones thickly strewn along the banks of the Caledon—remained for a time stationary near the sources of that river, occasionally making incursions into the Tambookie and Kafir country, and carrying off great numbers of cattle. At length finding the distance a serious inconvenience, and being powerfully tempted by the large herds of cattle possessed by the frontier tribes, they moved to the southward, and at the period of Major Dundas's mission had taken up a position as stated on the sources of the Umtata River.*

* Mr. Pringle with his usual anxiety to criminate the colonists, states in a note with reference to these people,—“At length they appear to have taken pos-

It has also been proved that these victorious hordes originally resided at the sources of the river Tritugela, to the north-east of Natal, acknowledging fealty to the chief *Matiwana*, who was their leader in all their wanderings, and the chief actor in their savage barbarities. They were a tribe of the *Zoola* nation, but the notorious *Chaka* having driven a powerful chief named *Zwide* from his territory, "he in his retreat fell upon *Matiwana*, who being thus compelled to seek another settlement, first overpowered the *Amazizi*, who, on the death of their chief, united themselves with the tribe of *Matiwana*. By this accession of strength he became formidable to his neighbours, and adopting *Chaka's* exterminating mode of carrying on war, he successfully destroyed the *Amahlubu*, the *Amancwazi*, the *Amakekyana*, and the *Amakangazitas*,—sparing neither women or children,—as it was his custom to attack a kraal a short time before day-break, set fire to the huts, and stab the defenceless inhabitants as they rushed out."*

It is impossible to paint in colours sufficiently dark the atrocities committed by these cruel and blood-thirsty miscreants. The writer whom we have quoted above observes, that any one travelling along the *Umtakachi* River, and along the mountains near its sources, and in the burnt kraals and human skeletons

session of a tract of country on the *Umtata* River, with the view probably of fixing themselves there permanently, for they are described by an eye-witness in 1828, as having constructed huts, cultivated the ground, and being actually located with their wives and children." From this he evidently would wish it to be inferred that they had abandoned their murderous career, and hence that the attack by the colonial forces was cruel and uncalled for: but this is nothing more than an unfounded assumption, as the tract of country which they abandoned on the spruits of the *Caledon*, displays to this day the marks of extensive cultivation. The soil there is of the richest description, and the climate well adapted to the production of millet; and it is certain that while they remained there a considerable quantity of that grain was raised by them. From this it is clear that they remained no longer than sufficed to destroy the inhabitants around, and to devastate the country.

* Vide letter by the Rev. W. B. Boyce, author of the "*Kafir Grammar*," inserted in the "*South African Commercial Advertiser*" of the 13th March, 1833.

which he will observe on all sides, he will find convincing proofs of the desolating and savage warfare carried on by the people of Matiwana. Another authority, a missionary residing near the scene of these enormities, in a communication addressed to the writer of this narrative, as far back as July 1834, remarks—"There is an old man dwelling on the "Bunting" Station, or near it, who was many years with Matiwana during his predatory mode of living, who states that he himself saw upwards of thirty captains—whose people he had previously destroyed—brought before him and murdered in cold blood, in order that he might drink their galls to make him strong!*" These people and their captains inhabited that tract of country beyond Faku and stretching to the Orange River—a distance of some hundreds of miles, and which to this day remains destitute of inhabitants. The people under these captains varied as to number, but may at the lowest computation be reckoned as from three to four thousand to each captain. All these, amounting to at least 100,000 souls, were utterly destroyed by the bloody Matiwana."

Such were the people who were hovering over the devoted Kafir tribes at the period of Major Dundas's opportune mission in 1828. On his arrival within the Amatembu, or Tambookie, territories, the chief Voosanie met him, accompanied by his warriors, fully prepared to take the field against this dreaded and formidable foe. His co-operation was earnestly solicited on the momentous occasion, and to this request the Major, after due consideration, acceded. Nothing could be more politic or proper than this decision. The Fetcani were just on the eve of springing, like the stealthy tiger, upon the devoted Kafir

* An opinion that the drinking of animal gall is calculated to give additional strength to the human frame very generally obtains among the native tribes.

tribes,—and from which they were evidently diverted by the efforts made at that very juncture by Major Dundas and his gallant little band. Had that assistance been refused, the whole of the Kafir people would have been thrown upon the colony, and the greatest perplexity and confusion—to say nothing of the pecuniary loss—must have been the unavoidable consequence. No sooner had Major Dundas decided, than all was bustle and exertion. Being an officer distinguished for his bravery and activity in the field, every thing under his direction soon wore a new aspect, and the Tambookie warriors, accompanied by the little company of colonists, marched in good spirits to the scene of action. The enemy at this time occupied a spacious basin, formed by a circle of hills of inconsiderable height, and watered by a branch of the Um-tata River. It appears to have been a bad position for defence, and it seems clear that flushed by uninterrupted success, they had not calculated on being required to act suddenly on the defensive. The united Amakosa and Amatambu forces gained their position, unperceived, late on the evening, and it was decided that a sudden and simultaneous attack should be made upon the enemy at an early hour the ensuing morning. The most advantageous dispositions for the expected engagement were speedily made, and at the time appointed the attacking forces were on the brow of the hill overlooking the dwellings of the dreaded Fetcani. No sooner were they observed than the whole settlement was in commotion; the men sprung to their arms, and some hasty dispositions were made to meet and repel the attack. At this moment Major Dundas perceived that a strong band of Fetcani warriors had placed themselves in a position to cover and protect the retreat of the cattle,—a primary point in all affairs with the natives,—and pointing out to his little party the importance of defeating this object, they

galloped boldly forward direct to this point, and when within about 100 yards of the enemy, who were waiting for their approach, they hastily dismounted and discharged their guns. The effect surpassed their expectations : the Fetcani were evidently unprepared for this destructive weapon, and hence amazed at its report, and terrified at its effects, some instantly fled, and others threw themselves on the ground in a paroxysm of fear. The colonists, flushed with the success of this experiment, followed in pursuit of the fugitives for some distance, until finding that they were entirely unsupported by their new allies, they returned to the scene of action. Here it was clearly apparent they had been entirely deserted. The Tambookies having with that rapacity peculiar to the Kafirs seized at once on the cattle of the affrighted Fetcani, and leaving the Major and his party to take care of themselves as they best might, had driven them towards their own country; and with so much celerity, that it was not till the following day the colonists succeeded in re-joining them.

The object of the mission had, however, been attained; and Major Dundas having so far checked the Fetcani in their approach towards the Kafir territory, and ascertained fully the cause of the existing commotions amongst the natives, proceeded on his return, and on reaching the frontier found that a commando had been organised during his absence, for the purpose of supporting the Kafirs against this formidable foe, and with a view to save them from that destruction which so clearly awaited them.

No measure, perhaps, could have been devised by the colonial government at this important juncture more politic or seasonable than the assembling of this force for the purpose stated; yet no proceeding has ever been more strangely misrepresented, or furnished such ample scope for the calumniators of the

colonists to heap additional obloquy both on them and on the character of the government. Without, however, waiting to examine these statements, it will only be necessary to proceed with the narrative in order to shew their utter falsity.

Lieut.Col. Somerset, who commanded the colonial forces, having been made acquainted with the exact situation and condition of the Fetcani hordes, moved with his commando to the Kei river, which he forded, and entered the territories of the chief Hinza. Here, at the Wesleyan Missionary Institution of "Butterworth," the troops halted during the whole of one Sunday, attended in a most becoming manner the religious services conducted by the resident missionary at that station;* and after having collected much

* We may here place in contrast the accounts furnished on this particular point by two missionaries of the same denomination, viz: the Rev. W. J. Shrewsbury, and the Rev. S. Kay, in his "Researches in Kaffraria." It will be only necessary to observe, that the former was an eye-witness of what he narrates; the statement of the latter is founded entirely on report.

Rev. W. J. SHREWSBURY:

Extract from his Journal, dated 31st September, 1828, published in the missionary notices for May, 1829.

"The conduct of the British troops has made a deep impression on the mind of Hintza and his people. On their march they rested one Sabbath at Butterworth, and our chapel was filled with British troops listening to the word of God. When they came near the field of battle, the evening before the engagement, Lieut. Col. Somerset called Hintza and Vosani, and requested they would give orders to their people not to kill any prisoners that might be taken, but to treat them with humanity, especially women and children; that if they did not promise this they should have no help from him. By this means the lives of many poor women and children were preserved; although, after all, several of them were cruelly and wantonly murdered."

Rev. S. KAY:

Extract from "Researches in Kaffraria," page 330, published in 1833.

"A strong military force together with several hundreds of armed colonists were hurried into the interior to the distance of nearly 300 miles from the colonial boundary, where they were immediately joined by an immense host of Kafirs, who proved themselves to be Kafirs indeed. On the Sunday evening the troops arrived within a few hours march of the spot, and after halting for an hour or two, again proceeded with the view of taking them by surprise ere dawn of day the following morning. In this they succeeded; so that while the greater part of the people were still fast asleep, the rushing of horses, the clashing of spears, and the horrid roar of musketry poured in upon them on every side. Who can conceive of a situation more awful? the thought makes one's blood run cold. If we had not heard the details of this sanguinary affair confirmed by more than 50 witnesses, we could not possibly have given credit to it."

valuable information, and having made all necessary arrangements, they marched to the scene of action. The commando had been previously joined by the chiefs Hintza and Voosani, with a great number of their people, and on these a strong injunction was laid by the Commandant to shew mercy to the women and children, and prisoners. The engagement which ensued was perfectly successful on the part of the colonial forces. The whole of the Fetcani host was overthrown and scattered amongst the surrounding tribes, and the appellation of Fetcani is now only known as designating a people that have ceased, as a body, to exist; whose memory alone is all that remains at the present day,—and which will continue to remain while that immense tract of country, overrun and depopulated by them, continues uninhabited; and while the bones of the thousands of victims to their destructive and murderous ravages, bleached by an African sun, continue to strew the ground, and thus to point out the track of these merciless destroyers.

Such is a brief narrative of an affair which has been held up to the British public as one of the darkest and most atrocious acts of cruel perfidy recorded in the pages of colonial history. Mis-statements uncontradicted soon pass current for admitted facts; and it has, therefore, been deemed desirable that a true version of this matter should be submitted to the public. It would have been useless to recur to occurrences of distant dates, where the actors in them have long since passed from the stage of existence, and where we must have been content to refer to such scraps of information relative thereto as might be gleaned from the official documents of the day. But not so in the present case; the fate of the Fetcani is, as it were, an event of yesterday, and while there are

numerous ear and eye-witnesses to verify every tittle of evidence adduced, is a time of all others the most fitting to confute unjust and daring calumnies.

The writer who first brought the fate of the Fetcani before the British public was Mr. Saxe Bannister, in a work entitled "*Humane Policy*," and which has been largely quoted by Messrs. Pringle, Kay, and other writers, who have adopted his own peculiar views, and who have classed themselves amongst, and pretended to advocate the views of, the philanthropists of England. Mr. S. Bannister is a barrister, and formerly held an official appointment in the colony of New South Wales. On his return home from that distant possession he touched at the Cape, where hearing something of Port Natal, and of the opening prospect which appeared to present itself there for forming a British colony, and being also fired with a desire to become the founder of a new settlement on a peculiar plan of his own, he made a journey to this frontier, where, and among the tribes adjacent, he devoted a few weeks to the purpose of collecting information; in the course of which he listened to a variety of rumours relative to the Fetcani, and on data thus obtained he has considered himself authorised to bring a grave and deliberate charge of wanton cruelty and injustice against the colonists and the government of the country.

It is by no means intended to impugn the *motives* of Mr. Bannister; on the contrary, there is every reason for supposing that he himself believed fully what he communicated to the public;* but so have

* Mr. G. Thompson, in his "Travels and Adventures in South Africa," has recorded a sentiment which is quite applicable to Mr. Bannister. "Every one" says he, "who visits a barbarous people without some previous knowledge of their character and language, is liable to be continually led astray, both by his own misapprehension of what he witnesses, and still more, by the imperfection of the channels through which he must necessarily receive information at second hand." Page 334.

many other enthusiasts and celebrated projectors,—whose systems and schemes, when brought to the touch-stone of experience, have proved as fragile and unstable as a rope of sand. Mr. B. must ever be ranked as a mere speculative theorist, who possessed a warm heart and a still warmer imagination. In his plans he was something of an “Owenite,” but he expected to refine upon the system of that ingenious innovator, and to civilize the most barbarous savages, sunk into the lowest abyss of moral degradation, by what he styles a “humane policy,” to be developed in a new system of colonization. *Port Natal* appeared to offer a suitable spot for the experiment, and hence he endeavoured to obtain the concurrence of His Majesty’s government to his project; with this view, and likewise to interest the public in the attempt, were the ostensible objects of the publication of his work referred to. It is almost unnecessary to add that the scheme, being nothing more than an unsubstantial theory, has met with no encouragement either from the public or the government,—and his book may so far be considered as “consigned to the tomb of all the capulets.” Still the injurious passages on this colony remain unexpunged, and are referred to authoritatively by other writers, and hence it becomes a duty at this moment to put forth a public refutation.

The next writer who has given a version of this affair is the Rev. S. Kay, in his “*Kaffrarian Researches*”—where the same view has been taken of the subject as that by Mr. Bannister. This writer was for about the space of two years—and this at two different periods—stationed in Kafirland as a Missionary, and had better opportunities than the other of forming a correct opinion on the subject referred to. It is, however, to be deplored that he has proved himself to be a servile copyist, and an inveterate plagiarist; and it is

unfortunate that in this way he should have industriously collected together the most obnoxious passages to be found in the works of those who preceded him ;—to which having given a little darker colouring—a great proportion of the public has considered the whole as entirely new matter. Mr. Kay withal is by no means an accurate writer, or a just reasoner; he has mis-stated many facts, and from them he has often made deductions which are perfectly unwarrantable. Most of his pictures are of the “*Salvator Rosa*” cast,—wild, gloomy, and terrible,—without any shade of light to relieve the dark and dismal scene.

Fortunately, however, we have abundant materials to prove the *imprudence* and inaccuracy of this writer, and that by the evidence of his own brethren in the ministry,—of men of far better information on the subject touched upon than Mr. Kay could possibly pretend to ; and hence, as far as he is concerned, the question may be completely set at rest. The inaccuracy of his details has already been shewn by the evidence of the Rev. Mr. Shrewsbury, who was on the spot at the time of the occurrence ; but as this may be considered as a point of trivial importance, we shall now shew the opinion entertained of the moral effect or policy of the attack of the Fetcani, by others with whom Mr. Kay would not presume—in respect of information—to put himself in competition. He speaks of it as a cruel, unnecessary, and, therefore, ‘disgraceful affair. The Rev. Mr. Boyce* gives it an entirely different character : “I have no hesitation,” says he, “in stating it to be my decided opinion,

* This gentleman had the most favourable opportunities, from a residence for several years in the immediate neighbourhood of the scene of action, of collecting the most accurate information on the subject. He possessed also a perfect knowledge of the language of the country ; whilst his benevolence of heart, and independency of feeling, the tongue of slander itself would not dare to call in question.

formed after diligent enquiry, that this commando was the means of preserving the Kafir and Tambookie tribes from extermination. However unjustifiable in principle and impolitic in practice the commando system on the frontier may be, this commando is unobjectionable on the grounds of humanity. As to the necessity of any interference on the part of the colonial government,—and as to whether the expense of the commando might have been spared, I have to observe that although, when viewed as a question of mere policy, considerable difference of opinion may exist, yet I doubt the wisdom of any policy which is not humane and generous. Had the colonial troops merely guarded the frontier, and calmly looked on while the bulk of the Kafir population was being exterminated, they could not, with all their vigilance, have prevented the entrance of thousands of refugees into the colony. They would have been found employment for years to come in clearing the thickets of Albany of parties of Kafirs, dangerous from desperation, and doubly so from the possession of local knowledge; and we should have needed double the number of troops to keep in check a fierce and warlike enemy.” Such is the testimony of Mr. Boyce, and we can unhesitatingly assert that it accords with the opinion formed on this subject by all those, with the solitary exception of Mr. Kay, who are engaged in the same field of labour.

But Mr. Kay has dwelt at considerable length on the barbarities exercised on this occasion towards the old and emaciated, the women and children. Nor is it intended to deny, to defend, or to palliate the charges made on this subject. On the contrary, it is well known that, in spite of the remonstrances, the entreaties, and even the threats of the commanding officer and of other British officers who were engaged, the

most dreadful retaliation was made in numerous instances on some of the Fetcani, that fell into the hands of the barbarous natives.* Horrible, however, as such atrocities are, and however worthy of being held up to public execration, still it does not bear in the slightest degree on the policy of the measure itself, or compromise the character of the colonial forces. War is at all times a game which makes suffering humanity weep, and even in civilized countries—on the peninsular of Spain and Portugal, or on the plains of Germany—have scenes been exhibited in the hour of battle and at the moment of victory, the details of which, for the honour of our species, it might well be desired were expunged from the page of history. But still this does not render the warfare itself unjust, nor ought the government of a country or the people at large to be held up to public execration, because excesses are committed by the soldiery at a moment when it is utterly impossible to restrain them.

If this be a true statement, with regard to civilized countries, and amongst those bearing the christian name, what can be expected from savages, who have but vague perceptions of moral wrong, and whose feelings are blunted by habitual and almost daily scenes of human suffering. We hear none of those writers who have cast so much odium on the colony on account of this transaction, attempt to call in question the policy of the measure, which led the Bechuana

* The following anecdote, related by Mr. Kay, will shew the utter detestation in which such enormities were held by the British forces, and the summary and signal manner which was taken to stop them.

"One of the soldiers" he remarks, "while crossing the valley, happened to observe a Kafir intently engaged at a distance; he immediately advanced to see what he was about, and found the brutal savage deliberately cutting off the breasts of a helpless female, whom he had thrown down on the ground for that purpose. Without waiting to ask any questions, he instantly levelled his piece and shot the barbarian dead on the spot." Vide "*Kaffrarian Researches*," page 332.

tribes and Griquas to oppose the advance of the Mantatees, though these people were actually fleeing from certain destruction; and yet it is acknowledged that the former perpetrated cruelties towards the wretched fugitives who fell into their hands, of far deeper atrocity than any thing recorded as having been committed by the Kafirs on the Fetcani.* Between the two cases there is this difference,—in the one the cruelty was unprovoked, and the danger prospective—in the other it was in part retaliation for injuries actually received. How deeply, however, are such atrocities to be deplored, and with what emphatic force do they accord with Holy writ, that “the dark places of the earth are full of the habitations of cruelty.”

It is very difficult to account for the policy which could lead Mr. Kay, in writing his work, to advance opinions and sentiments, which he could scarcely be ignorant were entirely at variance with those held by every one else with whom he was associated, many of whom were much better informed than himself, on the points in question. In some parts of his work there is a feeling of hostility displayed to certain in-

* The Rev. Mr. Moffat, a Missionary in the Bechuana country, who was an eye-witness to the destruction of the Mantatees, in 1833, states:—“When I saw the enemy had fairly taken flight, I turned back to look after the prisoners. What was my horror and indignation, when I saw the base and bloody Bechuanas, notwithstanding the promises of their chiefs to restrain them—butchering in cold blood the helpless women and children, and hewing with their battle-axes the head, for some paltry ornament? By galloping amongst them, and threatening these cowardly murderers, I succeeded in driving many of them from their prey.”

Mr. Melville, formerly government agent at Griqua Town, who was also present, states in reference to these miscreants:—“They were seen in all directions at this murderous work, and it was only by striking them, and threatening to shoot them, that they could be compelled to desist. * * * A woman was holding out her arms to one of those ruffians, in order that her bracelets might be taken off, but not being able to effect his purpose quick enough, the savage cut off both her arms with his battle-axe, and then dispatched her.” Nothing can shew more clearly the errors which travellers sometimes make, than the fact that *Lichtenstein* has described these same people as of “an open, manly, and generous character.” See “*Thompson's Travels*,” pages 300 and 312.

dividuals, which is by no means an amiable trait in any author, but is particularly out of keeping with the character of a christian missionary. These obnoxious passages are so much in the style of Mr. T. Pringle, that he may well be supposed to have been influenced by that gentleman, who, it is well known, has been consulted on almost every work of modern date that has been written on the subject of this abused colony,*—a fact which will sufficiently account for that strain of invective which prevades them all.

Mr. Kay has not only thrown a most weighty stigma upon the colony in the affair of the Fetcani, but he has also permitted himself to make insinuations against the officer commanding on that occasion, which are most unjust and unwarrantable; and which only go to prove that even in the disreputable work of detraction, Mr. Kay can descend so low as to become the servile copyist of more able calumniators.†

* The following specimen will suffice on this subject.—In Mr. Pringle's poetical effusions, the following sentiment is supposed to be uttered by Lieut. Col. Somerset:

—“As for the rest—
’Tis powder and ball suits these savages best.
You may cant about missions and civilization;
My plan is to shoot or enslave the whole nation.”

Mr. Kay states in sober prose: (vide “Kaffrarian Researches,” page 499) “In imitation of those whom we have sometimes seen valiantly dashing about amongst naked savages, with congreve rockets and musket balls.”

† A signal instance of imprudence in relying on the communications of Mr. Pringle, has been publicly exposed in the case of Dr. Philip, who, in his “Researches,” page 353, was induced to place prominently before the public, a statement containing a serious imputation on the Landdrost of Somerset, reflecting alike on his official conduct as a government servant,—on his character as a man—and on his honour as a British Officer. The natural consequence was, that Mr. Mackay, the Officer in question, felt himself imperatively required to seek redress through the medium of a court of law. The upshot of the whole business was, that the story proved to be a fabrication, whilst the only plea offered in defence of the publication of the calumny was, that it had been communicated to Dr. Philip by Mr. Pringle, on whom he thought he could place unlimited dependance! Perhaps no trial was ever conducted with more patience, impartiality and moderation, than in this instance; yet Mr. Pringle has had the assurance to stigmatize the proceedings as resulting from “violent (we quote his own words) pro-slavery prejudice which then prevailed in the colony!” A more unjust and daring assertion was never palmed upon the public. Every

But not only so,—by attacking Lieut.-Col. Somerset, he has unwittingly assailed all those with whom he

reasonable person will see that the simple question is:—was the charge published by Dr. Philip *true or false*? The reply is, a solemn and public investigation has been made into all the allegations, and they are *proved* to be untrue; and yet Mr. Pringle would have the British public believe, that the circumstance of an individual seeking redress for a libel on his character, is an ebullition of violent pro-slavery prejudice, prevailing in the colony! It would be impossible to believe that the British public could be so far infatuated as to be misled by such clumsy equivocations and declarations, were it not for the fact recorded by Mr. Pringle, that the *religious* public of England came promptly forward to testify their opinion of that prosecution, and raised in a few weeks, a subscription of nearly £2,000 to relieve Dr. Philip from the effects of the enormous costs and damages with which he had been overwhelmed by the issue of that trial. If this be true, the sum and substance of it is this:—Dr. Philip is *proved* to have borne false witness against his neighbour, and the *religious* public not only shield him from the consequences of his imprudence or folly—call it which you will,—but actually contribute several hundred pounds beyond the sum required as a token of their approval of his conduct. Such extravagances as these do more harm to the cause of religion than all the efforts of its most determined opponents.

But Dr. Philip is not only chargeable with giving currency to the misrepresentations of *others*,—he is likewise guilty of putting forth most unjust imputations on the character of the colonists on his *own* authority. We appeal to every man capable of comparing facts, whether the two following are not completely in opposition:—"It is painful," observes the Doctor, "to be obliged to state, that the Hottentots in South Africa, have in general a greater dread of the English than they have of their old oppressors the Boers. Having one day asked a Hottentot the reason of that circumstance, he replied by comparing the Dutch colonists to the Buffalo, which is dangerous to those who come in its way, and the English to the Lion, who joins cunning to his ferocity, and from whom there is no escaping." The Dr., in his anxiety to produce a strong case in favour of the Hottentots, makes in this instance a most unconscionable demand on the credulity of the public. Is it, we may ask, possible that any person can be so weak or perverse as to believe that the Hottentots could entertain a greater dread of the English—of that people from whom they had received their Missionaries and who, by his own account, had defended them against every kind of oppression—than they were of the Dutch who, according to Dr. Philip, (page 90 of his "*Researches*,") recommended to Gen. Janssen that they (the Hottentots) should all "be seized; that every individual among them should have a chain put upon his legs; and that they should be distributed among them as slaves." Such an assertion is an outrage on common sense, and is not worthy of comment.

Again, with regard to the THEOPOLIS lands, the Doctor has brought a direct and serious charge against the government of cruelty and injustice towards the Hottentots, in depriving them of lands originally granted them. The Dr. has been so minute in his details on this subject by publishing a chart, shewing the lands of which the Hottentots had been dispossessed, that the case was one easily grappled with. Accordingly in the year 1830, the government entered upon a full investigation of all the allegations, and the result was, that the whole turned out to be entirely unfounded. On this occasion the government acted in the most open candid manner. No less than three surveyors were employed to prove the accuracy of the boundaries of the lands belonging to that Institution. The Rev. G. Barker, the missionary residing on the institution at the time, and T. Philipps, Esq., Justice of the Peace

himself was associated in his missionary labours, while in this part of the world. They have borne unqualified testimony—and which is perfectly consonant with the sentiments entertained by the frontier inhabitants at large—to the praiseworthy manner in which that officer has discharged the arduous duties of Commandant of the Frontier for many years past; and they have publicly manifested their sense of his conduct by presenting to him a Book, on his quitting the colony in the year 1832, which they state, under their own hands, was to be understood “as a small token of respect for an officer who, while Commandant of Kaffraria, supported the religious and charitable institutions of the country, and used his influence amongst the various tribes of Kafirs, in promoting the civilization and propagation of the gospel.”

It is not intended in these sheets to vindicate individual character, but rather to expose the nature of those unjust charges which have been brought against the colony at large. Nor in the present instance is it at all necessary. Lieut.-Col. Somerset has held a responsible command on this frontier sufficiently long to live down all such attacks, and to gain by his conduct the general respect alike of English, of Dutch, and of *Kafir*; whilst his impartiality and his desire to promote a mutual good understanding

in that neighbourhood, were present on behalf of the Hottentots, a crowd of whom attended to give evidence and witness the proceeding; and these were all compelled to agree that in this case the Doctor had taken infinite pains to prove to the world an act of injustice which had no place but in his own imagination. Dr. Philip has been officially informed of all this, but still the charge remains upon record, and is read—and believed too—by the religious public. One good has, however, resulted from it, viz.—the Doctor's book is no longer consulted by the home government as a work of authority, but rather as a striking instance of that desperate hazard which a public character will sometimes run in putting forth unjust suspicions and unfounded rumours as indubitable facts, from an overweighing anxiety to establish some long-cherished and favorite opinion. No gambler ever ventured his last shilling with a greater degree of recklessness than Dr. Philip has his opinions and statements; and yet no book has been read by those at a distance with less suspicion than that in which they are recorded.

among all parties, have been admitted on every occasion, and is acknowledged up to the present day.

Having so far disposed of Mr. Kay, it will now be desirable to revert to the Mantatees, whom we have referred to as having escaped from the murderous Fetcani, and taken up a position in the mountainous country near the sources of the Caledon. For several years the fate of these poor people was unknown; but of late information has been obtained, which fully elucidates their history, and which will not be read without exciting considerable interest.

It may be proper to premise, that within the last few years several missionaries, in addition to those who formerly laboured in the Bushman and Bechuana country, have proceeded to the northward, beyond the boundaries of the colony; and that by their means a considerable addition has been made to our stock of knowledge in relation to the geography and natural productions of the country in that direction. Not only has the British public sent forth missionaries to this quarter, but several have also been sent by the French people,—men whose consistent deportment, whose devotion, and whose ardent zeal in the discharge of their arduous labours, cannot be too highly appreciated.

In the course of their labours in this part of Africa they have penetrated to the neighbourhood where the remains of the discomfited Mantatee people have established their residence; and some of them are at this moment dwelling among them, endeavouring to raise them in the scale of humanity by teaching and endeavouring to inculcate upon them the principles of the christian religion. The account of these people was first communicated to the public in a letter from a Wesleyan Missionary, which was published in the "*Graham's Toren Journal*" of the 30th January, 1831,

and which abounds with facts of great novelty and interest.

“The Mantatees,” says the writer, “are a tribe of Bechuanas, but their language is an almost intermediate dialect between the Kafir and Bechuana, and it is as common to hear them speak one language as the other. It is a numerous tribe,—the lowest estimate being about 24 or 25,000 people. There are a great number of Kafirs among them,—I may indeed say some thousands.

“On Monday last I visited the Chief. He resides on the top of a small table mountain, where a town has been built which is inhabited by about 3,000 people. There is but one point of access to it, and that has been formed by them with much art. It is between two huge rocks, with a wall ten feet in height, built from one to the other. There is a narrow part, about three feet wide, which has large blocks of wood laid across, so that you are under the necessity of stooping very low to enter. It is formed something like a staircase, having to ascend by steps till the summit of the mountain is reached. After I entered the door I was conducted to the residence of the Queen, (the mother of the chief, who has governed the tribe 15 years) accompanied by about 1000 people. When within about fifty yards of her house she was pointed out to me as the Great Captain. On being introduced to her she took my hand and accosted me by saying—“My father, my father!” I went to her house, and after sitting some time was conducted to her son’s residence. I found him sitting in the midst of about 60 or 70 of his councillors, all waiting to receive me. Water and milk were brought for us to drink, and afterwards an ox was presented. On my return the chief accompanied us part of the way, and gave us many thanks for our visit.

“We are at present living at the foot of a mountain, extending from east to west about 12 miles. To the east we have a view at about 60 miles distant, of that high range of mountains which is supposed to run through the continent of Africa. To the N. and N. W. about 18 miles, we have some conical and table mountains, which give it an interesting appearance. In our neighbourhood we have 12 or 14 small springs, but the climate appears to be of such a moist character that we have but little occasion for them.

“In travelling hither we passed a tribe of Bechuanas called *Bogogas*. They are but little known to any English traveller. They are numerous, but live in a very scattered state. They have no cattle,—having been taken away by other tribes; but they have abundance of corn and game, on which they live. They are living in gross darkness, not having any knowledge of a Supreme Being. They have a singular way of preserving meat. They broil it on coals, after which it is left to become perfectly dry in the sun; it is then pounded or ground till it becomes as fine as meal, when it is put into sacks, and in this state it will keep good for many years.”

In addition to the particulars detailed in the preceding account we have been favored with much information of a subsequent date, the substance of which may be condensed into the following facts:—

On being repulsed by the Griquas and Bechuanas, as before described, the Mantatee host separated into two divisions,—one of whom proceeded to the N. W., and settled on the Kuruman, whilst the other turned short round to the N. E., and secreted itself in the rugged mountainous tract, about a days' journey below the source of the Caledon—a branch of the Nu Gariep, or Cradock River, and which, after a long course, disembogues itself into the Great Orange

River, in the direction of Griqua Town. The country they now possess appears to be especially suited to their present circumstances. Living in continual dread of attack from one of the two formidable chiefs, Dingaen or Masselikatse—who divide the power exercised in this part of the African continent—they have carefully chosen the most difficult and unapproachable situations for their dwellings; and even the summits of some of the most craggy precipices, and which are only climbed with labour and hazard, are made choice of as the most favorable sites for their rude habitations.

The mountain which has been selected for the capital of the country, and that is described in the foregoing communication, is said to be composed of a fine indurated compact sandstone. The summit forms an inclined plane, so that at a short distance from the base, on the lower side, the whole of the town may be seen, and has a very singular appearance. Its figure is extremely favourable, as the rains carry off the filth, which would otherwise render the place perfectly intolerable. The huts are crowded together, and the inhabitants are extremely dirty in their habits; whilst, as a precautionary measure against the attacks of their enemies, the cattle belonging to the tribe are folded at nights within the barrier; and hence a residence in such a situation, under such circumstances, would be intolerable to any but a people like themselves. The spring which furnishes water to the town is situated at the base of the mountain, within reach of their missile weapons, but still it seems very certain that were the place closely invested by a besieging army, the inhabitants would, in spite of the impracticable character of their position, soon fall a prey to their enemies.

Having comparatively but few cattle, they display, from necessity, more industry than the generality

of the African tribes; and hence both men and women devote much time and attention to the cultivation of the soil. They raise considerable crops of Kafir-corn (millet), Indian-corn, and tobacco,—quantities of which they dispose of to the Bogoga and other surrounding tribes, for skins. They make—like most of the interior tribes—a kind of beer, by the simple process of steeping a quantity of corn, until fermentation takes place; with the liquor thus obtained they frequently get intoxicated,—even the queen herself is nothing loath to indulge freely in this favourite beverage, and is often rendered thereby quite unfit to discharge, for the time, her regal duties. Her Majesty is between 50 and 60 years of age; she has one son only, who is named Sekanyella, about sixteen or eighteen years younger than herself, and who, on her decease, will succeed to the supreme authority.

The country over which they claim sovereignty was formerly possessed by a tribe of Bechuanas, called the Bashuta, the greater part of which was dispersed or destroyed,—partly by the Mantatees and partly by the Fetcani, at the period first alluded to. It is bounded by the Caledon and Vaal rivers; and is spoken of as abounding in rich pasturage, particularly the high lands along the borders of the former,—which is described as a fine stream, flowing during the whole of the year; whilst its banks are adorned with willow, and a few other shrubs. The country is in general very destitute of wood, but there are here and there a few scattered kloofs, composed principally of “witte-stink-hout,” olive, and “keerie.”

The neighbourhood abounds in wild animals. Lions are very numerous,—as is generally the case where small game are plentiful. Very large herds of ‘quaggas’ constantly pasture the plains, and ‘elands’

and ostriches are common. All the different varieties of the antelope tribe, peculiar to South Africa, are here abundant. Wolves are extremely numerous, and so daring that the inhabitants are frequently attacked by them after dark;—there are at least fifty persons who have scars in their faces of wounds received in rencounters with these animals.

The language spoken by this people is merely a dialectal variety of the Sichuana,—a tongue common to all the Bechuana tribes, and which is easily understood for a considerable distance into the interior of the continent. The people themselves are not originally of one tribe, and there is amongst them sufficient variation of dialect to mark the respective classes. One of the tribes formerly belonged to a part of the Bashuta people denominated Macootas,—and these, it has been ascertained beyond all doubt, were driven, during their wars with the Fetcani, to such extremity as to be guilty of cannibalism. They do not attempt to deny the fact, but on the contrary admit, that on arriving at a moderate-sized native village or kraal, all the inhabitants—men, women, and children, were often consumed for food in the course of one or two days. The other people speak of this horrible act in terms of utter detestation, and denominate the wretches who were addicted to it, “Marimo,”—literally, devils. It appears also that they would almost deserve this appellation, from their appearance, which is described as uncouth and forbidding beyond conception. They differ materially from either the Kafir or Bechuana people, having longer hair and countenances far more disagreeable; added to which they are intolerably filthy in their persons and habits,—and altogether in their disposition, customs, and appearance may be considered as a superlatively wretched and degraded race of beings.

Such is a brief history of the Fetcani. Such was the fate and such is the present situation of the Mantatee host,—the approach of which towards the northern boundary in 1823, and at subsequent periods, occasioned very powerful feelings of excitement and alarm throughout the colony. The relation has been introduced by way of episode, not more for the purpose of illustrating the colonial policy, than to dispose of a disputed question on a particular subject, and on which the public possessed nothing but erroneous and garbelled information,—and that directly tending to make a false and highly prejudicial impression on the public mind, both with regard to the policy of the government and the character of the people. Having, it may be presumed, effectually dispelled this illusion by the foregoing narration of facts, it will now be desirable to revert to the period up to which the effects of the frontier system has already been traced, as bearing on the comfort and security of the border inhabitants.

It has been shewn that Major-General Bourke came to the colony with a mind evidently predisposed to judge favourably of the character of the native tribes, and highly prejudiced against the frontier inhabitants; that he used the most strenuous endeavours to conciliate by kindness the good-will of the former, whilst he carried his zeal in restraining the aggressions of the latter to such excess, as to completely tie their hands from effectually defending their own property, or recovering it, when stolen, from the hands of the despoiler. It has been shewn that General Bourke was a man of a truly benevolent mind; that he did not trust to hearsay evidence, or to the endeavours of subordinate agents to maintain tranquility; but that he came to the spot,—examined into every fact for himself,—saw the parties,—and made himself

thoroughly master of the subject in all its bearings. It has also been shewn that from motives of good policy and humanity combined, he was induced to interpose the power of the colony to shield the frontier tribes from utter extermination. Having shewn all this we may well pause and enquire the result ; and here the fact which forces itself on our observation is, that while the colony was making such exertion, and expending considerable treasure in shielding the Kafir tribes from a formidable enemy, during that very year—as may be proved by official returns—the colonial farmers were plundered by them of nearly 6,000 head of cattle, and a proportionate number of horses,—and which may be adduced as a notable instance of the injurious tendency of mistaken forbearance and want of decision and energy in our dealings with barbarians.

Shortly after the period referred to, Major-General Bourke was superseded in the government of the Cape by Lieut.-General Sir G. L. Cole,—an officer who, under the Duke of Wellington, had distinguished himself on the continent of Europe ; and whose reputation both as a military man and as Civil Governor of the Mauritius was held in high public estimation. Before, however, proceeding to review the official acts of the colonial government relative to the frontier system which took place during his administration, it will be desirable to consider for a moment the consequences of the removal of the Lieut.-Governor, after having been appointed to the Eastern Province, pursuant to the recommendation of the Commissioners of Inquiry, who had, as we have before shewn, pointed out to the home government the necessity of having on the spot an officer armed with ample powers to fix and preserve friendly relations between the colonists and the native tribes contiguous.

Various rumours are current as to the real cause of that change in the government policy at this period, which led to the recal of Major-General Bourke, and the cancelment of his appointment as Lieutenant-Governor. But it would answer no useful purpose to speculate on these points, as his Majesty's government must be fully informed thereon, and it is only, therefore, necessary to observe, that from whatever motives it arose, the course adopted in this instance has been highly prejudicial to the interests of the colony in a variety of ways; and if it cannot be said in strict propriety to have led to the existing distress, still it may be boldly affirmed that had that appointment been confirmed,—had a Lieut.-Governor been on the frontier, directing in his own person the civil and military duties of the frontier, the present calamity could never have happened.*

If the cancelment of this appointment be attributable to undue parsimony, the government at home will be taught a salutary lesson, and may hereafter be led to study with more attention, in regard to colonial affairs, its real interests. The expense of repelling and chastising the late irruption will amount to a sum equal to the cost of a separate government for the Eastern Province for a period, probably, of fifty years. We do not calculate or animadvert upon the advantages which might, and unquestionably would, have accrued to the mother country and the colonial government by that extension of trade which must have taken place had those commercial relations already established with the native tribes been carefully fostered, and fixed on a firm basis; had property been

* The Commissioners of Inquiry distinctly declare that, in their opinion, a separate administration of the executive and judicial authority was indispensably necessary to the prosperity of the inhabitants, as well as to the protection of the colonists.—Vide Parliamentary Papers, No. 232, of 1st May, 1827.

rendered secure by encreased vigilance and activity; had the public burthens been more fairly equalised; and had the resources of the colony been more encouragingly opened up on the one hand to zealous and persevering enterprise, and guarded on the other against those abuses which are sure to prevail to a greater or less degree under a lax and inefficient system of government.

Lieut.-General Sir G. L. Cole arrived at Cape Town on the 7th Sept., 1828, and he had no sooner assumed the reins of government than his attention was directed to the affairs of the frontier, nor was he long in discovering the destructive tendency of the temporising policy which had been adopted by his predecessor for defending the frontier inhabitants against the predatory incursions of the frontier Kafirs. Sir L. Cole was too experienced, too quick-sighted, and too energetic to sit still while the people placed under his protection were insulted and despoiled of their property by these incorrigible robbers; and he very soon issued instructions of a more rational and decided character than those which have been made a subject of animadversion.*

* In a communication addressed to the Commandant of the Frontier, under date 6th February, 1829, the Secretary to Government observes,—“With reference to the *inefficiency of the present system* of recovering stolen horses and cattle, His Excellency feels well assured of the justice of your remarks on the necessity of proceeding in another manner. He has, therefore, directed me to instruct the Civil Commissioner of Albany to appoint as many persons of character and respectability, as may be absolutely required for the purpose, to be Provisional Field-Cornets, with full power to call out such a portion of the burgher force, residing within the limits in which they are appointed to act, as may be necessary, to follow up the traces of stolen animals as soon as possible, after any such theft shall have been reported to them: and any patrol of burghers so called out, and headed in the pursuit by a Field-Commandant, Field-Cornet, or Provisional Field-Cornet, may follow the spoor of such stolen animals across the boundaries into any neighbouring territory without intimation made to, or permission obtained from, the chief of that territory; and may, on coming up with such stolen animals, or other stolen property in possession of the natives, require that the same be delivered up forthwith; and if the said animals shall have been clearly identified, and the party in whose posses-

At this time, by the mistaken forbearance of Gen. Bourke, the whole of the frontier line had become a general scene of anarchy; the colonial boundary was violated in open day with impunity, and the inhabitants set at defiance and insulted. The daring conduct of the chief Macomo has already been shewn in following the Tambookie fugitives into the Tarka district, and in slaughtering them there, although claiming and entitled to the protection of the colonial government. Such rapacious and cruel proceedings, and such contumelious conduct could not be long endured by a man of Sir Lowry Cole's spirit and decision, and accordingly Macomo was ordered to vacate the ceded territory,—where, up to this period, he had been permitted to reside by the colonial government.

About this time (namely the end of 1829) the notorious chief Gaika paid the debt of nature,—an event unquestionably hastened by his vicious and intemperate indulgence in the use of ardent spirits. On the decease of this chief the power wielded by him was divided between his two eldest sons, Macomo and Tyalie, who, however, were only considered as holding the authority until a younger brother, named Sandilla,

sion they shall be found, refuses to deliver them up, the Field-Cornet in charge of the patrol, may if his party be of sufficient strength to render the enterprise likely to succeed, attack the opposite party and possess himself of the stolen property by force of arms.

"Officers in command of patrols are at liberty to proceed in like manner; but they, as well as the Field-Commandants and Field-Cornets, will at all times and under all circumstances be held strictly responsible that they commit no violence, nor cause any bloodshed, beyond that which may be absolutely unavoidable; and you will acquaint them, and those who may act under these orders, that, provided they adhere to the strict letter of this instruction, their conduct will be, and is, justifiable by the existing laws of the colony.

"You will be pleased to take the earliest opportunity of communicating this determination of His Excellency, in regard to the recovery of stolen property to all the Kafir chiefs, and you will acquaint them that His Excellency feels assured that those among them who are really desirous of remaining on terms of friendship with this government, will rejoice that means are now given for the punishment of thieves and marauders, *who have so long been permitted to escape with impunity.*"

and who took precedence of them by virtue of superior rank on the maternal side, should arrive at the age of majority. Both these chiefs were of a restless and intriguing character; and having by the death of the father become freed from parental restraint, they no sooner found thieves restrained in their forays into the colony, and punished for their dishonest conduct, than they meditated revenge and bloody retaliation on the frontier inhabitants.

During the high and palmy days enjoyed by the Kafir and other banditti infesting the colonial frontiers under the administration of Major-General Bourke, an ordinance had been passed repealing all existing laws which prohibited the natives of the countries beyond the boundary from passing into the colony; and granting permission to such persons freely to pass the line of demarcation, and either to engage in the service of the colonists, or to reside, without employment, at one of the missionary institutions.* This act was most favourable to the success of the machinations of the disaffected Kafir chiefs against the colony. Accordingly towards the middle of 1829 the frontier authorities had their attention directed to the fact that a very

* The following is the title of the Ordinance, (No. 49) above referred to.

ORDINANCE

Of His Honor the Lieutenant Governor in council, for the admission into the colony, under certain restrictions, of persons belonging to the tribes beyond the frontier thereof, and for regulating the manner of their employment, as free labourers in the service of the colonists.

The 2d clause states that, "from and after the passing of this Ordinance, it shall and may be lawful for the Governor of this colony for the time being, to authorize and direct the admission into the colony of any Kafirs, Gonaquas, Tambookies, Griquas, Bosjesmen, Bechuanas, Mantatees, Namacquas, or other natives of the interior of Africa, who may be desirous of engaging in the service of the colonists, &c.

The 15th clause sets forth,—“and be it further enacted, that it shall and may be lawful for any Kafir, Gonaqua, Tambookie, Griqua, Bosjesman, Bechuana, Mantatee, Namacqua, or other foreigner as aforesaid, duly provided with a pass, under the provisions of this Ordinance, to repair to and reside at any of the Missionary stations within the colony, by permission of the resident Missionary thereof.”

large number of Kafirs had entered the colony in small parties, under the pretence of engaging in the service of the frontier farmers. On enquiry it was very evident that this was nothing more than a pretence made use of to enable them to move with facility and without suspicion into different parts of the exposed districts. It was fully ascertained that after passing the boundary no application had ever been made for employment. Communications were received by the local authorities from various quarters, all reporting that formidable parties of Kafirs had been seen lurking amongst the thickets and fastnesses of the several neighbourhoods, and had ever penetrated so far as to be in considerable force in the dense jungle lining the banks of the Bushman's River, at the westerly extremity of the Albany district.

At this critical juncture a farmer, named Bezuidenhout, having been plundered of his cattle, had gone in quest of them into the Kafir country, and whilst thus engaged he was one night unavoidably detained amongst the tribe under the command of the chief Tyali; whilst at this spot he overheard the natives in secret conclave make a distinct allusion to an intended attack and general inroad on the frontier inhabitants. This farmer understood the Kafir language perfectly; and as his statement was corroborated by those suspicious circumstances before referred to, a communication was immediately forwarded by express to the government, shewing the exact posture of affairs, and the imminent danger to which the inhabitants were then exposed from the meditated attack.

No sooner did Sir Lowry Cole receive this information than, with his characteristic decision and promptitude, effectual measures were adopted to counteract it. The first step was the repeal of the 49th Ordi-

nance, under which the treacherous natives had gained easy ingress into the colony ;* and the next was, and that with surprising celerity, his personal appearance in the very focus of commotion. His Excellency arrived on the frontier in the month of Sept. 1829, and by his sudden and opportune appearance effectually smothered, before it was ripe for execution, the intended movement on the part of the Kafirs. Had less energy and promptitude been displayed, the deeds of 1835

* The following are the official documents published on this occasion :—

Colonial Office, Aug. 25, 1829.

Advices were received this morning from the Frontiers, by which it appears that a general apprehension prevails of approaching disturbances on the Kafir Frontier—several of the chiefs having manifested hostile intentions towards the Colony. Up to the date of the dispatches no act of hostility had taken place: the troops were on the alert, and the Armed Burghers had received instructions to hold themselves in readiness to take the field, in case of actual invasion of the Colony.

PROCLAMATION.

By His Excellency Lieutenant-General the Honorable Sir GALBRAITH LOWRY COLE, &c. &c. &c.

WHEREAS it has been represented to me, that there are at this present time great numbers of armed Persons, belonging to the Tribes beyond the Frontiers of this Colony, chiefly Kafirs, wandering about in the Districts of Uitenhage, Albany, and Somerset, by means of Passes which they have obtained from the several Missionary Stations beyond the Borders, by virtue of the Ordinance No. 49, but without having obtained, or sought to obtain, service with the Colonists.

And whereas these Foreigners have already committed, and are daily committing great depredations on the Cattle and other Property of the Colonists residing in the Districts aforesaid, and it has become necessary to put a stop to the continuance of the same, and to make due provision for the security and protection of the Lives and Property of His Majesty's Subjects:

Now therefore, I do hereby order and direct, that no Passes shall be henceforth granted to any Kafir, until further Proclamation be made to that effect: And I do hereby further ordain and direct, that all Kafirs found wandering about in any of the Districts aforesaid, not being under Contracts of Service and actually residing upon the Place of their Master, or actually employed in his Service shall be apprehended and disarmed by any Field-Cornet, Constable, or Landholder, and forthwith conducted to the nearest Magistrate or Military Post, towards the Frontier, there to be dealt with in such manner as to me shall seem expedient, and the circumstances of the case may require.

GOD SAVE THE KING!

Given under my Hand and Seal, this 25th Day of August, in the Year of Our Lord One Thousand Eight Hundred and Twenty-nine.

(Signed)

G. LOWRY COLE,

would then have been enacted—the colonial frontier would then have been, as now, over-run and devastated by the barbarian hordes. Panick-struck and dismayed as the refractory chiefs were at the appearance of the Governor, and the evident exposure of their plans,—yet they were not for an instant thrown off their guard; on the contrary, with consummate address they affected to be perfectly innocent of any sinister designs against the colony; and so successfully did they cover their intentions that it may be doubted whether Sir Lowry himself, in spite of the strong conviction on his mind, did not depart on his return to Cape Town with his suspicions entirely allayed, and with some doubt as to whether he might really credit the indubitable evidence which had been afforded of their hostile intentions.*

It would be tedious to cite the various cases of dis-

* A rather amusing instance of the art with which the Kafirs gloss over their offences, is given in the *Graham's Town Journal*, of the 21st September 1832, and in reference to this very affair. It appears that some cattle had been stolen from a farmer named Bezuidenhout, (not however, the same man referred to above) and that he had traced them into Kafirland, and *bona fide* into the possession of the tribe under the Chief Tyali, where they were actually seen and claimed, notwithstanding which they persisted in slaughtering the whole of them. The case being so flagrant restitution was demanded, which being refused, the Commandant (Col. England) resolved upon making a reprisal, and the result was, that in the execution of this object the party of Colonial troops were attacked by the Kafirs with their assegais in such force, that they were compelled to fire upon the assailants before they could make good their retreat. This case was reported in the public prints of the day, which coming to the knowledge of Tyali, he requested the Rev. W. Chalmers, who resided in his territory, to put forth a contradiction,—in which he is made to say with much apparent simplicity: "He (Tyali) is surprised to think that the authorities were so ready to believe the evidence of a man such as the farmer Bezuidenhout, who only three years ago endeavoured to deluge Kafirland with the blood of his own children, by announcing to the Colony that the Kafirs at that time were premeditating an attack upon the Inhabitants thereof. He is surprised that any person can believe such a bad man."—Recent events have fully shewn the duplicity of such professions, and with what success they can effectually mask their evil intentions from the knowledge of the Missionary living in the immediate vicinity. Thus the Rev. Mr. Laing, the colleague of Mr. Chalmers, stated (vide *Graham's Town Journal* of the 27th March, 1835,) with reference to the late irruption,—“They contrived to keep the Missionaries entirely in the dark, both as to their hostile intentions and also to their preparations.”

pute between the colonists and the border tribes during the administration of Sir G. L. Cole; suffice it to say that as no material alteration took place in the line of policy, the same results were the unavoidable consequence. Every year the frontier farmers were plundered to a large amount,—and they were called to endure the same kind of vexatious annoyances in searching for their property, and the same delays and difficulties in obtaining redress as in former years; with the additional injustice that they were invariably proclaimed as the aggressors, whilst every kind of obloquy was heaped upon them by a certain class of persons who then maintained considerable influence over the public press, both in Cape Town and at home.

One instance of the plausible way in which such injurious statements were got up at this time may serve to give a sufficient illustration of this remark. We refer the reader to Mr. Pringle's "*African Sketches*," where, at page 372, he will find the following narration:—"In November, 1829, a commando went out against a horde of Bushmen near the Sak River, who were reported to have been guilty of *some* depredations. The party did not, however, find the horde they were in search of, but in returning they came upon another horde who were at that time living in peace with the colonists, and who were not accused or suspected of having been guilty of any offence. This kraal they thought fit to surprise, and shot seven of the unsuspecting and unresisting people in cold blood. As the party returned from this doughty exploit, a Bushwoman was observed lying in the path, wrapped up in her caross, apparently asleep. The commander, without uttering a word or asking a question, levelled his musket and fired. The caross heaved up, and an aged female, in the agonies of death, rolled out of it,

and the party rode on without considering the matter worthy even of a passing remark! Now the facts of this horrid murder have been substantiated upon the oaths of several of the persons present; and the official documents, I am assured upon authority which it is impossible for me to doubt, are now, or at least were very lately, in the possession of Mr. Oliphant, the Attorney General at Cape Town; but for reasons of which I am ignorant, no punishment whatever has been inflicted upon the persons implicated in these transactions."

This case has been selected because it details one of the greatest atrocities recorded against the colonists—even by Mr. Pringle; and because, since its publication, it has attracted considerable notice, and Mr. Oliphant has been called on, through the public papers at Cape Town, to declare whether the allegations are well-founded or not,—but to which that gentlemen has not thought proper to make the required reply. The scene of this imputed atrocity is too distant, (about 400 miles) for the inhabitants in this part of the frontier to be acquainted with the circumstances of the case; but it has been brought forward to shew the injustice done to the colonists by the publication of such *ex-parte* statements, directly tending to render infamous in the eyes of the world the people who could perpetrate them, and the government that could permit them to pass without bringing the criminals to condign punishment. Had Mr. Pringle been a faithful historian, he would in justice have shewn both sides of the question, in which case he would not have been at any loss in finding that the colonists on the northern boundary were goaded to desperation by the horrible cruelties and plunders of the Bushmen in that neighbourhood.

It will be observed that the date of the fact record-

ed by Mr. Pringle is November 1829, and on looking at the public events of that period, as far as concerns that part of the frontier referred to, there is good grounds to suppose that we have met with the occasion of that commando having been called out; and if this be so, the reader will not fail to perceive the spirit in which Mr. Pringle must have penned the statement, when he mildly states, in allusion to the Bushmen, that "they were reported to have been guilty of *some* depredations."*

The occasion referred to is recorded in a letter published in the "*South African Commercial Advertiser*," of August 1829,—about three months previous to the date of Mr. Pringle's anecdote. The allusions in both instances are precisely to the same part of the country. The communication in question is dated Beaufort, August 4th, and runs thus:—

OUTRAGES OF THE BUSHMEN.

"I take up my pen with much diffidence to address you upon a subject that I am sorry has not fallen into abler hands. The robberies and murders which so frequently occur in the Nieuwveld, call for the interference and assistance of Government, to protect a large and industrious part of the population of this

* The following extract from Mr. Kay's "*Kaffrarian Researches*," page 479, will give the reader at a distance some idea of what sort of an enemy the Bushman is to the Frontier inhabitants. "In August, 1827," says the narrator, "a Hottentot female who had been tending her master's flock, was seized within a few miles of the station I then occupied, by a wandering party of these desperadoes, who mangled her in a most horrid manner; life was gone before her situation was discovered, and her bowels were found hanging on a bush near the corpse. Shortly afterwards, an English farmer's servant was attacked near the same place, but she providentially escaped with life, though not without several severe and dangerous wounds, some of which were inflicted by a son of the savages, with a view of trying the lad's expertness in archery; his father set him to shoot at the defenceless victim, saying, 'now let us see if you can kill her on the spot.' Such are the lessons taught in the Bushman's school. Happily ere the child had cast the fatal weapon, the band were disturbed and obliged to take to flight."

district. From the time that Lewis Nel and his family were robbed and murdered, which is now little more than a year, I have been credibly informed that not less than 5000 sheep, 200 head of cattle, and 20 horses have been stolen from the back settlers, and not less than 25 people murdered by those Bushmen, who stroll about this part of the district as beggars and vagabonds. The farmers are frequently obliged to keep them as friends, by relieving their wants: by refusing this sort of forced charity they incur the resentment of the horde to which the party belongs, and, in revenge, they watch their flocks by day, when they are grazing, and under the care of a single herdsman, and steal the whole or a part, as may suit their convenience, and sometimes murder the herdsman. This has happened many times, and several industrious individuals have been reduced to the necessity of asking assistance from, or becoming servants to, their more fortunate neighbours.

“One individual who alone has given, in this sort of charity, not less than 123 sheep within the above period, to keep friends with these people, who afterwards “crushed the hand that fed them,”—has had his son, a youth about 18 years of age, who was herding his cattle, murdered, and a great part of his herd stolen. Lewis Nel’s case is still more aggravated. The severe drought of 1828 drove him, with many others, near the limits of this district. One evening after sunset, as poor Nel sat by the fire conversing with his servant, the latter was shot dead. The master ran towards his gun, but before he could reach it from the wagon, a second ball shot him dead also; his wife and four children were also left for dead. The villains took away the wagon, oxen, and sheep, in short every thing which the unfortunate family possessed. Mrs. Nel was found with an infant at her

breast, after her recovery, by some friendly Kafirs, who treated her with the greatest humanity, and the following day brought her and her child in a very exhausted state to the nearest neighbour, who has been obliged to leave his farm. This poor woman and her child, through the kindness of the neighbouring farmers, has recovered; but alas! almost all that was dear to her in this world is lost—her husband, her children, and with them all their property, consisting of about 2,000 sheep, oxen, wagon, &c. &c.

“Should this find a place in your valuable Journal, it may induce those who have the authority, to look into this evil, and to give more encouragement to the poor farmers of this much neglected district.”

ALFRED.

Let the reader, after perusing the whole of the above, divest Mr. Pringle's story of its partial gloss, and what is the naked facts of the case? simply—that the Bushmen make an inroad into the colony, plunder the inhabitants, and commit the most atrocious and cruel murders; that after considerable delay a party of farmers are sent out to punish the miscreants, and that in the execution of this duty seven Bushmen are killed; that on their return home the commander of the party wantonly fires at a caross lying on the ground, which, as it turns out, gave cover to an aged female, who is shot dead. It appears further, from Mr. Pringle's own shewing, that the crime was immediately reported to the authorities, and not only so, but that several of the party gave evidence on oath against their leader; that nevertheless, from some cause or other the government, after conducting the investigation so far, did not think it necessary to proceed further, and that the inhabitants have been left in the dark, as to the result of the inquiry up to this very hour.

Deeply as such occurrences are to be deplored, and detestable as we hold any thing like wanton injury and cruelty,—still we may fearlessly appeal to every man of feeling and candour whether there are any grounds in the above case for those flagitious charges which Mr. Pringle has endeavoured to bring against the inhabitants at large. Yet it is on such authority as this that one of the representatives of the British people stood up in his place in Parliament, no longer ago than last sessions, and gave an exposition of the term “Commando” in the following words:—“Commandos,” says Mr. Buxton, “are hunting expeditions attended by the military and European settlers, and the persons composing which proceed to the districts inhabited by the natives, and surrounding their villages at a considerable distance gradually close in upon them and destroy both villages and their occupiers. It might have been expected,” he adds, “that when the British government obtained possession of this colony all such atrocities as these would have ceased. I find, however, that in 1819 50,000 head of cattle were seized in one year by these commandoes, and that even in 1827 the system continued with its usual ferocity.*

Well might the honorable member observe that it might have been expected that when the British government obtained possession of the colony, all such atrocities would cease. Well might he express surprise that such a system of iniquity could be upheld by successive Governors,—all men of rank and character, and some of them high in the estimation of the world for general philanthropy and kindness of

* The 50,000 head of cattle were taken after the attack on Graham's Town by the Kafirs. This number, great as it seems, does not cover the amount previously plundered from the colony. The commando of 1827 alludes to the affair with the Feteani.

heart ; but did it never occur to him that there was a possibility of his having been made the dupe of the designing. Certain it is that had he compared the probabilities he would have discovered that it was far more unlikely that a voyage to the Cape of Good Hope,—a change merely from an European to an African climate,—should have occasioned an entire revolution in the feelings and views of his countrymen ; of those to whom liberty is equally dear, in whose esteem the principles of benevolence are equally sacred as to himself,—than that he should give undue weight and credit to the partial and self-interested views of the enemies of the colonists. Let any person, we repeat, of candid mind compare the probabilities in the two cases, and he will not fail to draw a just conclusion. We firmly believe Mr. Buxton to be actuated by the purest and most patriotic motives ; but the colonists here—both English and Dutch, civil and military—tell him, and tell him plainly, that he has been egregiously imposed on, and that he has brought forward an *ex-parte* charge against them, on testimony absolutely false in some instances, and doubtful in most.

The year 1832 was remarkable with reference to the affairs of the frontier, in two particulars ; the first of these was the apprehension, trial, and execution of a Kafir for cattle stealing from a farmer on the Fish River, and the murder of the herdsman. From the evidence on the trial, held before one of the Judges of the Supreme Court, it appeared that the herdsman was seized with the cattle, taken to a sequestered spot, and there beat on the head and finally strangled. The perpetrator of this deed was given up by his chief, on the peremptory demand of the government, and he was ultimately executed near Fort Willshire, in pre-

sence of several Kafir chiefs and about fifty of their retainers.*

The second and most important particular to which we refer, is a visit made to the frontier by a Mr. Bruce, of the Madras Civil Service. It may be proper to premise that this gentleman travelled from Cape Town with, and as the friend and companion of, Dr. Phillip. It is, therefore, quite natural that, ignorant as he must necessarily have been of the real state of affairs, his mind should have received those impressions which the Doctor's well known views and opinions would lead him to make. "A little leaven will leaven the whole lump," is a proverb of very extensive application, and thus the intimate connection which may be distinctly traced to exist amongst those who have lately written extensively for the public eye on the subject of this colony, is not a little remarkable;—the same stories are repeated over and over, —the same strain of invective is indulged,—the same

* The following extract relative to this criminal, is from the "Graham's Town Journal, of December the 6th 1832: "He was attended by the Rev. W. Davis, of the Wesleyan connection, who, in conjunction with the Rev. W. Shaw, had been incessant in his attention to him ever since his conviction. On reaching the fatal tree, the Rev. Gentleman read a paper to the following effect, which had been drawn up by the Deputy Sheriff for the occasion, and which was translated to the Kafirs then assembled to witness the execution of their countryman.

"Kyyoyo is now to be executed for the crime of murder and robbery; first having stolen a number of cattle, he then committed a cruel murder on a defenceless Hottentot boy who was in charge of those cattle. He has been tried according to the laws of our country, which make no distinction between the murder of a black or white man. He has been found guilty by nine men who were appointed to try him, and were sworn before Almighty God to judge of his guilt or his innocence, according to the evidence brought before them. Kyyoyo has been found guilty by those nine men, partly on his own confession and partly by the evidence of his own brother and the evidence of the people who found the body of the murdered Hottentot; and the Governor has been at a great deal of trouble and expense in sending him up here to be executed, in the hope that this example will be made known by the chiefs, now present, to all their people; and that it may be the means of preventing other Kafirs from stealing cattle, which, in almost every instance, leads to the crime of murder, as it has done in this. Kyyoyo has been constantly attended since his conviction by a gentleman who has prayed with him to God to pardon not only the great crime for which he is now to be executed, but all the sins of his past life; and we all hope that God will pardon him for his son Jesus Christ's sake."

specious affectation of benevolence runs through them all; whilst they mutually quote each other as authorities on whom may be placed unquestionable reliance! But this is not all,—there is no modern work on the Cape to which there has been occasion to allude to which Mr. Pringle has not either contributed his assistance, or been employed to review it after its publication, and thus impress it more indeliably on the public mind.

It is necessary to explain this fact to those unacquainted with Cape politics, otherwise they might be at a loss to account for that uniformity which is so observable in them all; and this will also serve as a key to the extraordinary course taken by Mr. Bruce on his visit to this part of the colony; where he was employed for two or three weeks in visiting the Kat River Settlement as well as some of the border chiefs beyond the boundary. During this period, and without the slightest knowledge of the language, he employed himself in collecting all the calumnies respecting the frontier colonists, which were then, or had been, in circulation. Being the companion of Dr. Phillip, and seldom mixing with any except those to whom the Doctor introduced him, he was not very likely to glean any thing but a partial and garbelled account of the policy of the government or the character of the people. Yet upon such data did this gentleman—a stranger amongst us—consider himself at liberty to libel the inhabitants and condemn the authorities. The claim to the ceded territory was discussed by him, and unceremoniously condemned on the testimony of Macomo, the interested party! The system of Commandos,—so rife in the hands of Dr. Phillip and Mr. Pringle—was made the subject of long animadversion,—and such a tissue of inaccuracies, all disreputable to the inhabitants, were strung together, and published in the “*South African Commercial*

Advertiser—a Cape Town paper, edited by the son-in-law of Dr. Phillip—as occasioned no less surprise than indignation amongst all classes.

The time, however, for unrefuted calumnies had passed away, and these statements were no sooner published than their accuracy was challenged through the medium of the public press; the consequence was, that such an exposure took place as must have overwhelmed any man of ordinary sensibility with shame, confusion, and dismay, at the awkward and disreputable situation in which he had placed himself. The local newspaper, in remarking upon the statements published to the world by this individual, observes,—“We admire the boldness with which the charges have been brought forward, in a contemporary paper, by a writer who, from his station in society, is deserving of consideration. There is no begging the question—nothing like flinching—the details are given in the most straight-forward manner—the parties are named, and numbers enumerated with the exactest precision. Every thing is tangible and easily grappled with, and we, therefore, call upon the government to enter upon the necessary enquiries, and either to bring the offending parties to condign punishment, or to proclaim to the world that the charges are utterly groundless. Injustice in any shape we are determined never to compromise, whether it refer to white or black; but we see no reason to join in a violent outcry, because it happens to be the fashionable cant of the day, and because it may gratify the new-fangled taste of those who set themselves up as the reformers of a people with whom they hold no reciprocity of interest, and of whose affairs they have but a very imperfect knowledge.”

The subject being thus brought prominently before

the public, very soon underwent that scrutiny, to which it would be well for this colony had previous mis-statements been subjected. Mr. Bruce had detailed several circumstances relative to the treatment of the border Kafirs, and the conduct of the military, for which he had given as his authority the Rev. Mr. Chalmers, the respectable missionary at the Chumie Institution, belonging to the Glasgow Society. This gentleman, being thus implicated, came forward, and, through the medium of the public press, instantly rebutted the assertions referring to himself, and to the work in which he was engaged, and that in such a way as, independant of all other evidence, is quite sufficient to consign the lucubrations of Mr. Bruce to a place among those recorded follies which are only calculated to excite the pity of every honest man.*

* However strong this language may appear, every one who reads with an impartial judgment the following letter must admit that it is richly merited :—

To the Editor of the "Commercial Advertiser."

SIR,—It has been with some degree of astonishment that I have read in your Paper a statement said to be made by me to Mr. Bruce, concerning Commandos in Kafirland, as being so detrimental to the cause of Missions in that country, that the designs of our Mission have been nearly frustrated, and we were about to relinquish our work. I lose no time to inform you and the public, that I made use of no such expression, nor any thing which had the slightest allusion to it, neither to Mr. Bruce nor to any other person. It is impossible I could so express myself, for I never once conceived it; and I am sorry to think that a gentleman who seemed to be so deeply interested in the oppressions of the Kafirs, as he terms them, should, in this instance, at least, have given such an unfair representation. Mr. Bruce seems to have wrote much from memory, and I call upon him to recollect himself, for I do honestly declare that I made use of no such language.

So far from Mr. Bruce's statement being true, (for it is not mine) I do assure both you and him that the Kafirs in the neighbourhood of this Institution, for the past three months, have given more general attendance and attention to the word of God, than I have seen or known them do since I arrived in Kafirland, which is now a period of five years; so that our church, which is capable of containing 250 persons, has been crowded to excess, and should our congregation continue we may very soon be compelled to erect a gallery.

So far from Mr. Bruce's statement being true, I do assure both you and him that the foundation of a larger church has been dug at Lovedale, and at Burn's Hill and Perrie, our work seems to prosper, and we have no intention of leaving our work, no not for an hour, although the Commando was in Kafirland to-morrow. We know the Commando would protect us and our people, and

Notwithstanding all this, the published letters of this writer have been quoted by Mr. Pringle, in corroboration of his own views and statements, and these again have been referred to in the British House of Commons, in order to support a charge of injustice on the part of the government, and of wanton and rapacious cruelty on the part of the colonists; and thus it becomes necessary in this place to disabuse the public mind, by placing on record, as a warning to future travellers, who may labour under an attack of the *cacothæ scribendi*, the discomfiture of this itinerant politician, and to shew that a whole people are not to be traduced by a stranger with absolute impunity.

many of the Kafirs, as on former occasions, would flee to our Institutions as to a place of refuge. With these facts gazing me in the face, how could I say that Commandos were ruining our stations?

Mr. Bruce came to the Chumie Institution in search of cases concerning Commandos in Kafirland, and wished me to furnish him with some instances of Military oppressions against the Kafirs. I assured him that I did not take notes of such matters, neither did I consider it my duty to do so. I said, however, that I would give him what was in my possession if it would serve his cause; (not, however, written by me, but by another person.) I read to him from the Journal Book what he has given as from *my* Journal; I read to him also the remark which the Chief Macomo made when driven from the Kat River, both of which Mr. Bruce transcribed.

I was again asked for cases, I assured Mr. Bruce I had got none, and would not give him any thing farther as good authority, but since he was so desirous of news, I would call the Interpreter who would narrate to him the news; I did so, and shortly after Mr. B. requested me to call the Chief, which I accordingly did. I find that in many instances what Mr. B. received from the lips of those two men, he has caused me to say, which I consider to be most unfair.

Perhaps there may be some strange things in the system of Commandos, yet, as I remarked to Mr. B. if he were among the Kafirs for one year, he would speak more cautiously concerning them. Not but I am their friend, yea, woe is unto me if I am not their friend—in so far as it is consistent with truth, farther I am not—but so far from saying with Messrs. Brownlee and Read that I considered the Chiefs Tyali, and Botma, and Macomo were honest men. I stated that they were generally found to conceal when they could; nor am I their enemy because I say so; I know it is truth.

I do assure you that I, as an individual, owe much to the Military on the Kafir frontier; I look back with peculiar gratitude to three particular instances when the poor Kafir has fled to me from the hands of those of his countrymen who were thirsting for his blood. I have given them a pass to Mr. Warden, he has kept them under his own care, and fed them at his own expense for some time, until they found themselves out of the reach of harm. I beg you would insert the above in your valuable paper, a copy of which I leave here for the "*Graham's Town Journal*."

I am, &c.

W. CHALMERS.

But not only did Mr. Chalmers step forward, but several other individuals appeared likewise in the same field at this time, and two statements on *oath* by two persons, who had been mentioned by name, were published in direct contradiction to assertions put forth by Mr. Bruce. Besides, however, the numerous counter declarations of individuals, a memorial was transmitted to government, subscribed by two hundred and fifty of the frontier inhabitants, praying for enquiry into the charges published on this occasion; but to this prayer the Government declined to accede, on the ground that the statements of an individual like Mr. Bruce, could not operate injuriously to the interests of the colony.*

* The following is the reply of Government to the prayer of this memorial, and to which particular attention is directed, as furnishing a positive proof of the readiness of the frontier inhabitants to submit their proceedings and conduct to the ordeal of public enquiry:—

His Excellency the Governor has had under consideration the Petition of certain Land-holders, and other Inhabitants of the Eastern Frontier of this Colony, soliciting that a strict enquiry be made by competent persons into the truth of every act of injustice, or undue severity towards the Native Tribes, with which Mr. BRUCE, of the Madras Civil Service, has charged the Local Authorities or Inhabitants of that Frontier; those charges being set forth in a series of letters, recently published by Mr. Bruce in "the South African Advertiser Newspaper." This Petition bears the signature of 25 Dutch, and 192 English Settlers.

"There are various objections to the appointment of any Commission of Inquiry into this matter. It does not seem to be either proper or necessary to have recourse to so grave a mode of proceeding on the mere 'ex parte' Newspaper Statements of a stranger, who could not of his own knowledge have been very well acquainted with his subject. It would be difficult, moreover, to find any person to conduct such an inquiry, and it is plain that no Magistrate or Civil Functionary would be admitted by the accuser as a competent inquirer on the score of real or imaginary Government influence over him.

"For these and other reasons that might be adduced, His Excellency must decline compliance with the Memorialists' solicitations; but he will most readily bring the subject under the Secretary of State's notice, by transmitting to him the Memorial itself, which fully proves the readiness and anxiety of the Inhabitants, to meet the accusations in the most public manner.

"If any of the Memorialists should feel themselves particularly aggrieved, and be inclined to disprove any part of Mr. Bruce's assertions by Affidavits, His Excellency will be glad to transmit the same to Viscount Goderich.

"With reference to a passage contained in the Memorial, His Excellency has the pleasure of assuring the Memorialists, that He is not aware that any injury has been done to the Colonial Character in the quarter and by the means to

Subsequent events have, however, proved that the Government acted in this matter with too much candour; affording a striking instance of the bad policy of treating with disregard and contempt a subject of this kind which, as circumstances have fully shewn, is capable of being made, in the hands of more able and inveterate traducers, of great public importance. The local Journal remarked at the time,—“However we may regret that it is not thought necessary to enter upon the investigation demanded, it is satisfactory to find that Government has, in its reply, assigned, with the most straight-forward candour, and in terms sufficiently significant, its reasons for non-compliance with the prayer of the memorialists. We confess that, so far as Mr. Bruce is concerned, we do not attach the smallest importance to this refusal; for it cannot be supposed that any reasonable man, who is at all acquainted with the affairs of this frontier, can for a moment be biassed by so puerile an attempt to traduce and attach odium to a people, of whose affairs that writer has shewn himself so utterly ignorant. Our regret arises from a different source: namely,—that *a favourable opportunity seems to be lost of entering upon an enquiry into our frontier system, which might possibly have led to an important improvement in our trade, and the better regulation of our intercourse with our neighbours.*”

Conscious integrity was evidently the feeling which induced the Government to reject the petition of the

which they seem to allude. He must also explain to them, that the late investigation at Theopolis was not undertaken with any view of defending the Colonial Character, or even that of the Government itself. Its object was merely the verification of certain boundary lines which became absolutely necessary, in order that justice should be done to the rights of private individuals as well as to the claims of the London Missionary Society, on behalf of that Institution.”

By His Excellency's Command,

JOHN BELL, Sec. to Govt.

Colonial Office, Cape Town, 8th Feb., 1833.

inhabitants on this occasion, high ground was taken, from whence they looked down with indifference on their puny assailant. Such a course might be dignified, but it was also impolitic. It is always imprudent to neglect and despise an avowed enemy; and hence it has been seen in the sequel in this case, that the feeble efforts of Mr. Bruce have aided to swell that torrent of prejudice which has swept away all sympathy for our situation, and which, under other circumstances, might have led to enquiry into our real situation—redress of our actual wrongs—and have resulted in the salvation of the frontier districts from all those calamities which have now overtaken them.

It is quite impossible for any one acquainted with this frontier to sit down and peruse the productions of those who have written within the last few years on the subject of its affairs, without being struck with the industry with which every fact of a disreputable character is fixed upon, and with what ingenuity and pertinacity it is tortured into an offence of serious magnitude, and brought forth as a charge either against the people *en mass*, or in condemnation of the colonial system. That there are defects is readily admitted; and, as a people, we may pray for some amelioration; that there are bad men amongst us is a melancholy fact, and we demand their conviction and punishment. Still we deny that the government countenance injustice, or that the people are a whit worse than in other countries; on the contrary, let the records of the Courts of Justice throughout the colony be carefully examined, and we may venture to affirm that *as few* cases of convictions for crimes committed by whites, will be found therein as in any other country of equal extent or population.

A striking instance of this ingenious twisting of

facts to suit a particular purpose, is exhibited in the account given by Mr. Kay and Mr. Pringle, in reference to a threatened attack by the farmers on the Hottentots of the Kat River Settlement, and which both those writers have imputed to bitter personal rancour on the part of the colonists, and to a cool deliberate plan to fall on and massacre the unoffending colored inhabitants. A more unfounded, and therefore unjustifiable, insinuation was never placed upon record.

The facts of this case are simply these:—On the 10th Nov. 1831, a public vendue or sale was held at the Kaga Post (about 40 miles north of the Kat River Settlement) of farming stock belonging to the Hon. Capt. Stockenstrom, the Commissioner-General. The auctioneer employed on this occasion was Mr. G. E. Joseph, a respectable English tradesman residing in the village of Somerset. To this sale a great number of persons from the Kat River Settlement resorted, and, as they possessed but little property, the auctioneer, before commencing the sale, announced publicly that all purchases made *by them* was to be paid for in cash before delivery. As the other class of farmers were allowed to buy at a credit of several months, the distinction gave immediate and bitter offence; the colored persons collected in a party, and did not attempt to conceal their chagrin; whilst the latent feeling of animosity against their more favored rivals was betrayed not only in their gestures, but in plain and significant menaces. In this mood they returned to their homes. Yet, still there is every reason to believe that the fire which had thus, as it were, been kindled up in their breasts was a mere transient principle, and that it soon gave place to better and kindlier feelings.

The threatening attitude assumed by them on this occasion did not, however, pass without observation by

the assembled farmers; and the result was that a number of absurd reports gained very general circulation, to the effect that the Hottentots were actually preparing to fall upon the Dutch inhabitants. This rumour was officially brought to the notice of the frontier authorities on the 14th December—about a month subsequent to the sale—by an Englishman named Vaughn, residing amongst the Dutch on the Koonap River, who stated that the inhabitants were in great alarm, and preparing to defend themselves against the expected attack.* Rumours of this kind soon spread; and in this case the report quickly became current, not only along the frontier line but even as far as the adjoining districts of Uitenhage and Graaff-Reinet. Little attention was at first paid to it, but at length it became so serious that Col. Somerset, the Commandant, was dispatched to the Kat River to ascertain the particulars. On the way thither he found some of the farmers preparing to defend themselves in the event of attack, and the whole neighbourhood in a state of alarm and commotion. The Civil Commissioner of the district shortly joined

* Messrs. Kay and Pringle endeavour to make it appear that this suspicion was a mere plea or excuse for the contemplated massacre, but they seem to lose sight of the fact—though recorded in their own works—that the Hottentots had in former years, with the assistance of the Kafirs, fallen upon the frontier farmers, murdered numbers of them, and laid the whole country along the borders for a considerable distance perfectly waste. They forget that the Hottentots were then in close proximity to the Kafir tribes,—and that any collision between them, might for a time have furnished employment even for the whole power of the colony. The Dutch farmers had good reason for alarm at the menaces of these people, if the following anecdote, recorded by Mr. Kay himself, be correct: He states, on the authority of a correspondent, that “a certain individual speaking to one of those Hottentots, a shrewd intelligent man, asked him of their late escape from the boors. The man laughed, and said—“Had the civil authorities applied to us instead of Col. Somerset, we would soon have relieved the government from all anxiety for our safety. We muster for any service in defence of the colony, 700 able-bodied young men with guns. Shew us the enemy and cry “tza!” (tza is the cry used to encourage a dog to attack) this closes the argument.” And this, we may add, shews that apprehension in the mind of the boors was not such an absurdity as some have endeavoured to make it appear.

him, and on the 3d January a laborious investigation was held by them at the house of the Field-cornet Erasmus, under the Kaga-berg, the result of which was that the whole turned out to have arisen from rumours circulated alike by farmers and Hottentots,—that they both, *vice versa*, apprehended an attack from each other,—and that these reports had been circulated without any apparent sinister design, and had originated in apprehensions which were perfectly unfounded. It appeared that these suspicions had been encreased by some measures taken about that time at the Kat River to guard that part of the border against the ingress into the colony of natives from tribes in the interior, that were stated to be infected with the small-pox. Hence it was rumoured that the Hottentots were watching the farmers in order to fall on them at an unguarded moment.

How simple are all these circumstances when rightly understood; and yet upon such a flimsy foundation have the frontier farmers been charged by two writers upon the colony with all but the commission of a premeditated cold-blooded massacre!

It will only be necessary to recur to one other measure of frontier policy, adopted during the administration of Sir G. L. Cole, viz.—the promulgation of an Ordinance, for explaining and amending the laws relative to commandos. To such persons as have formed opinions from the works of those writers, to whom there has been occasion so often to refer, it will be startling to find that the ostensible object of this edict was to *compel* the inhabitants to serve on commando for general defence, and to which it states, they had shewn the greatest aversion. The writers in question have endeavoured to convince the public that it was their favorite pursuit; and a member of the House of Commons has, in his place in Parliament, asserted

that as late as the year 1827, commandos on this frontier were conducted with their "*usual ferocity*."

It will be our duty to place the public right in this matter, and there will be no difficulty in proving that the inhabitants are especially averse to such expeditions, that they are undertaken at the peremptory call of the Government, and that they are only engaged in from a necessity which has been admitted to exist from Earl Macartney to the present Governor, Sir B. D'Urban.

It has been already shewn that even Mr. Pringle has been compelled to acknowledge that the policy of Earl Macartney was unquestionably characterized by a spirit of justice and benevolence ; yet even he declared in a proclamation, promulgated in 1797, that when the inhabitants had been called upon to endeavour to recover cattle, stolen by the adjacent tribes, "the greatest indifference and neglect had been shewn to those commands to the detriment of good order, and the evident inconvenience and danger of the well-disposed and industrious inhabitants. In consequence of this inertness, his Lordship proceeds to announce that he "had judged it expedient to give that public notice to warn and command all the inhabitants of the colony when legally called upon, to pay immediate and cheerful obedience, as they should answer the contrary by fine or such other punishment as had been usual under the former government, and the nature of the *crime* should appear to require.

Dr. Phillip has himself been fain to admit that considerable reluctance had been shown by the farmers to proceed on commando,—on which point the following quotation made by him from Barrow (who, be it remembered, was a bitter foe to the frontier farmers) will be conclusive:—"It was," says he, "a service at all times taken with reluctance, especially by such as

were least exposed to the attacks of the savages. The people of Bruintjes Hoogte were the first who failed in raising the proportion of men; Zuurveldt was deserted, and Camdeboo and Zwart Ruggens became negligent and remiss. The people of Sneeuwberg lying nearest to the common enemy were left to sustain the whole burthen of repelling its attacks; and had they not conducted themselves with great fortitude, perseverance, and address, that valuable part of the colony would have been abandoned.* In other places Dr. Phillip has laboured to shew that these commandoes were pursued by the inhabitants with irrepressable ardor and with a ferocity that is quite appalling. Fifteen years subsequently to the time Mr. Barrow wrote, we find precisely the same disinclination to commandos manifested on the part of the inhabitants; accordingly in a Proclamation of Sir John Cradock, promulgated at this time, we learn that the hardship of being called to serve on this duty, having been strongly represented by the Magistrates of the frontier districts, His Excellency had expressed his anxiety to relieve them as far as practicable from it; stating that he would be willing to lend himself to any measure that might be devised for lessening the many inconveniences arising to the inhabitants from a system of Commandos.†

* Vide Dr. Phillip's Researches in South Africa, vol. 2, page 270.

† The following extract from the Proclamation by Sir John Cradock, of the 4th December, 1812, will sufficiently prove this.

"I am" observes His Excellency, "most solicitous, that while a perfect system of security is established, the inhabitants should be relieved, as far as possible, from such parts of the general inconvenience and pressure as bear most hard upon them, and which so materially interrupt the course of agriculture and other industrious avocations. It has been represented to me by the Magistrates of all the districts, that if the personal services of the inhabitants could for a time be dispensed with, the districts would cheerfully contribute such pecuniary supplies, according to proportionate ability, as would enable the Governor to pursue other means of defence and leave the inhabitants at home to cultivate their farms and enjoy the repose they now so well deserve."

It would be tedious, nor is it necessary, to cite every authority that might be produced to shew the heavy grievance which the inhabitants always considered the system of commandos; and of their efforts in various ways to relieve themselves from the burthen, so as to live quietly and peaceable at their several homes. Hence, without further remark, we proceed to notice the Ordinance promulgated in 1832 by Sir G. L. Cole and the Council of Government, wherein it is declared that the same disinclination to commandos then existed as in the time of Earl Macartney, and that his Proclamation and "the other laws and usages of the colony relating to commandos had not been duly observed of late years by the inhabitants of this colony.*

Dr. Phillip, whilst fain to admit that such reluctance had been manifested, yet has taken great pains to qualify and neutralize the omission by endeavouring to shew that this disinclination was only felt by those farmers who resided at a distance from the frontier, and who, therefore, had no opportunity of enriching themselves by their proximity to the border, and the plunder of the inoffensive natives beyond it; and who were likewise too far removed from the frontier to share in the inconveniences of those who were suffering the natural consequences of the encroachments on the just rights of, and cruelties towards, the aborigines of the country. The Doctor, in his zeal to make out a complete case against the frontier inhabitants, has

* The following were the penalties for breach of the Commando Law, passed at this time.

"And if any person shall refuse to come without just cause, or shall not obey the orders of the Field Cornet, or other superior Officer, or shall withdraw himself before permission to that effect, granted by some competent authority, he shall be liable to a fine of not less than £6, and not exceeding £20 Sterling, on the first conviction, to a like fine and imprisonment for any period not exceeding three months."

Any Field Cornet not attending to the call of a neighbouring one for assistance, was by this act liable to a penalty of not less than £10, nor exceeding £30, Vide Ordinance No. 99, dated 6th June, 1833.

in this instance assumed a fact which is entirely without foundation, and which is sufficiently refuted by the indisputable circumstance that the cause which led to the promulgation of the Ordinance by Sir Lowry Cole in 1823, was the disinclination of the frontier farmers living in the neighbourhood of the Fish and Koonap Rivers, immediately on the border, to defend the colony against the predatory attacks of the hostile natives. He would likewise make it appear that the frontier farmers grow rich by the spoliation of the natives,—an assertion equally unjust as the former,* and far more unfeeling.

It is not pretended that there may not be solitary cases where an unprincipled character has taken advantage of the unsettled state of the frontier to advance his own interest. Such instances may have occurred; but if so they are very rare, and it is equally as unjust to record them as a general result as it would be to hold up the plunder of property exposed during some sudden calamity—such as the conflagration of a dwelling—as a fair sample of British character, merely because such instances of turpitude have occurred in our native country. Numbers of families along this frontier may be pointed out

* The following extract from the "*Researches*" (page 44 & 45 vol. 2) will illustrate this:—"In my late journey through the district of Beaufort I spent some hours at the house of a farmer. When this man married, twenty-two years before, he resided in the district of Tulbagh, and he had no property of his own, and he received none with his wife. In these circumstances they hired themselves out to a farmer for two years, and with the wages they received in that period, they purchased themselves a few necessary articles, and in company with a few individuals as slenderly provided as themselves, they proceeded to the Bushman country, where they remained till I saw them. * * * This man who came into the Bushman country without property, was now in possession of 7,000 sheep and goats beside oxen. During the 20 years he had been in the Bushman country he had accumulated property in value equal to £5,000."—The Rev. Dr. gives no shadow of proof as to any act of dishonesty on the part of this man, and we may hence naturally enquire, by what rule of justice does he throw out the insinuation that the property he enumerates had been acquired by the plunder of the natives? Many of the Doctor's own countrymen, now in the colony, and who have never crossed its boundary, have by the exercise of honest industry, met with proportionate success to that of the farmer referred to in this instance.

who have been reduced from comparative opulence to poverty, and others, who are well known to the inhabitants here, have had their property kept within a very moderate compass by the constant inroads of the restless natives. Lichtenstein, who travelled through the colony in 1803, and who has given the most rational and enlightened view of Cape society of any author who has written on the subject, describes the situation of the frontier inhabitants in such faithful terms as cannot but excite the sympathy of every candid and feeling mind ; and which may be taken as a correct portraiture of their real condition at the present day.

“Before the invasion of the Kafirs,” says this writer, “this district, (Bruintjes Hoogte) notwithstanding its distance from Cape Town, was one of the richest in the colony ; and the abundance of cattle, sheep, and horses bred in it was almost incredible. But in no part have the colonists suffered more severely ; and four or five families are now to be seen living close to each other in miserable huts, because they have not the means of re-building their houses ; at some single farms alone has any attempt been made to resume the culture of their lands and of their gardens ; and it was not without the utmost difficulty that we could procure a scanty supply of bread-corn. When the perpetual dangers in which the solitary inhabitants of this district live, are duly considered ; when we reflect that they are continually in apprehension of the inroads of those most uncouth of all savages—of the Kafirs, who swarm in the neighbourhood, and of bands of christian deserters and fugitive Hottentots who are roving about, it is scarcely to be comprehended how they can have any pleasure in existance. An eye-witness alone can properly judge of the joyless state of existance to which these people

seemed doomed. He cannot, without a great degree of astonishment, contemplate the force of habit, and witness what privations men are capable of to whom, from their earliest youth, every thing beyond what will satisfy the mere wants of life has been totally unknown."

The same writer remarks when at Graaff-Reinet, (about 50 miles farther along the frontier line to the north)—"the sight of so many houses in ruins; of so many fields desolated; of so many families wholly impoverished,—had shown us in very striking colours the lamentable consequences attending a Kafir war; and the conviction was inconceivably increased by seeing the catalogue of the losses sustained by the inhabitants of this district, which was hung up in the Drostdy, taken according to the oath of the sufferers. Not more than two-thirds of them had given in their amount, and yet the list amounted to 858 horses, 4,475 oxen, 35,474 cows and calves, 34,023 sheep, and 2,480 goats.*

Such was the state of the frontier inhabitants in 1803, and such are the trials, losses, and difficulties which they are called to suffer and contend with at the present moment. This, be it remembered, is not an ideal opinion, but a matter of fact, which may be proved in great part from official returns in the public offices of the frontier districts, and more especially by the evidence of hundreds of living witnesses, who have either actually suffered the spoliation of their property or been eye witnesses of the ruinous consequences of the barbarian inroads. Yet in spite of all this Dr. Phillip has endeavoured to make an impression on the public mind that the frontier inhabitants—in-

* See Lichtenstein's Travels in South Africa, vol 1, page 360—382, *et passim*. We particularly recommend this work to the attention of all interested in the affairs of this colony, as containing a faithful and most dispassionate view of the character of the Cape-dutch inhabitants, and as giving a sound, practical, and manly exposition of the colonial policy towards the aborigines and native tribes.

stead of sustaining such losses and contending with such difficulties—grow *rich* by the plunder of the natives; and that local proximity to the immediate boundary of the colony is on that account a desirable object. There can be no hesitation in stating that a more unjustifiable insinuation was never put forth with regard to any people.*

It is not intended by these remarks, and in impugning the accuracy of Dr. Phillip's details or the justice of his conclusions, to convey to the public that he has *wilfully* palmed upon the world injurious and glaring inaccuracies. We state facts and leave others to assign motives. His warmest admirers in this colony may insist, if they please, on his sincerity and his purity of intention, but still this does not alter the fact for which we contend, viz., that he saw every object through a false and distorted medium. He had avowed himself as the champion of the colored classes; he had set himself to the task of proving to the world the flagrant injustice of the whites towards them; he fancied himself called by Providence to assume the character of their regenerator,—and with these views, and in prosecution of this herculean labour,

* It is satisfactory to be able to illustrate this subject by the following fact:—At the last Circuit Court held at Graham's Town, in October, 1834, before the Chief Justice, Sir JOHN WYLDE, an action was brought by order of the Civil Commissioner of the district against a frontier farmer named Piet Nel, for unjustly possessing himself, about five years before, of 23 head of cattle, the property of a Kafir named Tyala. The cattle were valued at £30, and £20 was claimed for damages arising out of the detention.

The fact alleged against the farmer was that he, in the pursuit of cattle stolen from him, had gone into Kafirland, and had seized upon, and driven off, 23 head of cattle belonging to the Kafir who appeared as plaintiff,—after he had received a full compensation for the theft committed in the first instance. This case was most minutely investigated; a great many witnesses examined—both Kafirs and colonists—also the Civil Commissioner of the district and the Commandant of the Frontier; and the result was that the defendant (the farmer) was absolved from the instance with costs. Had this case not have undergone the sifting it did, it might have furnished another Bruce or Pringle with a subject for a long tirade on the injustice of the colonists. The proceedings in this case were detailed at considerable length in the "Graham's Town Journal" of the 30th Oct. 1834.

he has brought to bear all the resources of a powerful and active mind ; but still while he has treated the subject both argumentatively and philosophically, he has most unaccountably lost sight of the plainest maxims of common sense and of ordinary prudence. Every thing has been made subservient to one particular object, and the natural result is, that a most false and partial estimate has been made, and submitted to the public by him, of colonial character.

Let any man of understanding and candid mind, read attentively Dr. Philip's work, and we may confidently predict that it would not be possible for him to believe that the character of the Cape Colonists is so utterly redemptionless, as he has portrayed it. Had Dr. Philip taken but a tithe of the pains to vindicate the character of the frontier inhabitants, that he has to blacken it, what a catalogue of sufferings—of plunders—of unprovoked murders—of wrongs of every kind, sustained by them from the natives—might he not have left upon record ; but where has he devoted a single page to this good and sacred work ? where rather has he not studiously suppressed every fact that might by any possibility have excited the sympathy of the public for their trying, defenceless, situation ; and which, had it been fully known, might have led to the adoption of some measure for their relief.

Here we quit the subject. It has been entered on with reluctance, but without hesitation and without fear. Christian piety and genuine philanthropy teach us to "honour all men ;" but still this principle does not require us to do homage to their prejudices and errors. When these are harmless and indifferent, they may pass without observation ; but when they are calculated to do harm to society, it becomes a positive duty to expose them. Dr. Philip might have remembered that he was the accredited agent

of a religious body, not of a *political* association; and it might have occurred to him that, in calling in question the policy of the government towards any class of the inhabitants, and in bringing into collision the several grades of society, he had most unquestionably departed from his proper line of duty, and had assumed a character foreign to his proper calling. But, even admitting his claim to figure as the *political* agent of a public association, still his right to pursue the course he has taken for the attainment of his object, is most unequivocally denied. To raise one class of society by degrading another, is one of those short-cuts from the high and open path of rectitude which, perhaps, the latitude allowed to political manœuvring, may tolerate; but which ought ever to be shunned by the man of benevolence and especially by the christian missionary.

To resume, however, the subject, from which the mention of Dr. Philip has caused this digression, it will be only necessary to remark that, a few months after the publication of the Ordinance referred to, reviving in full vigour the system of commandos, Sir L. Cole resigned his government and quitted the shores of Africa; and it is only just to say that he departed with the warmest and best wishes of the inhabitants for his future welfare. In looking back upon his administration, the most striking characteristics of his government were decision in the adoption of measures, and vigour in executing them. Unfortunately the seat of government was too remote from the eastern districts, and Sir G. L. Cole evidently felt himself too much controlled by the home government, with regard to the native tribes, for the frontier inhabitants to derive much advantage from qualities which, had they been exercised on the spot and at

the moment of need, might have been of extensive and permanent benefit.

On the departure of Sir G. L. Cole, the government was administered for a brief space by Lieut.-Col. Wade, who appears to have devoted a considerable share of his attention to the affairs of the eastern districts; and hence, in proportion to the duration of his administration, his knowledge of Kafir character, and of the defects of the frontier system is, perhaps, superior to that of any of his predecessors. Previous to his departure for Europe this officer visited the frontier, and applied himself assiduously to the task of gaining an acquaintance with the various questions connected with its affairs; more especially the condition of the several classes of the inhabitants, and the existing relations with the natives; and hence there is the best grounds for stating, that he is in possession of such information as cannot fail at such a juncture as the present, to be particularly valuable to the home government.

On the 16th January, 1834, our present governor, Sir Benjamin D'Urban, landed at the Cape of Good Hope, and he had scarcely set his foot on our shores before his attention was turned to the commotions on the eastern border. Thus we find the local journal, in announcing his arrival, expressing a fervent hope that the disputes with the adjacent tribes might be speedily adjusted; observing that this "*was a matter of the utmost moment to the existence of the farmers on the frontier line.*" At this period the interior trade with the natives had risen to considerable importance, as will be seen in our subsequent pages. At least 250 British subjects were regularly engaged in that trade, and these were constantly exposed to the ill-treatment and rapacity of the Kafir Chiefs. Misunderstandings had been of frequent occurrence;

and it was believed by every thinking man that nothing would save that trade from ruin and avert those disasters, which appeared to threaten the frontier inhabitants, but the presence of the Governor on the spot, and the adoption of such just and vigorous measures in our relations with the natives, as should secure to all parties the redress of existing grievances.

It would be tedious were we to proceed to cite facts in support of this part of the subject, since it is almost impossible to take up the local journal of that day, without finding some remark applicable to it, or to some instance of robbery committed by the Kafirs on the unprotected inhabitants. But here again our *distance* from the seat of Government was our bar to redress. The Governor, with every disposition to enter upon the required investigation, was compelled, for want of leisure to undertake so long a journey, to defer it from time to time, during all which period the natives were proceeding from one act of aggression to another, until they finally consummated their cruelty and rapacity, by a general massacre of the traders—by the destruction of all the Missionary stations in Kafirland—and by the devastation by fire and sword of the frontier districts.

It is not intended by these remarks to impute the slightest blame to Sir Benjamin D'Urban; on the contrary, it is no more than an act of justice to state our firm conviction, that no Governor of this colony ever entered upon his duties with a more sincere desire to benefit a people than He himself; but whilst we firmly believe all this, we cannot divest ourselves of the idea that his mind had received the most erroneous impressions, with regard to the character of the Kafirs, and the treatment received from them by the frontier farmers. We merely put this hypothetically, of which His Excellency will be the

only judge of its full force and accuracy ; without, therefore, further remark on this point, we proceed to consider the most prominent occurrences during the eventful period which elapsed from his arrival in the colony to the late daring invasion.

The first circumstance to which it will be necessary to recur is, the disallowance by the home government of the Ordinance promulgated during the administration of Sir L. Cole, reviving in full force the system of "commandos," and which has been referred to in our preceding pages. The conduct of government is in this instance perfectly inexplicable ; nor is it easy to believe that any government could have manifested so perfect a disregard to consequences as was exhibited on this occasion. The measure itself was nothing less than announcing to the people that they were to act upon a rigid principle of non-resistance,—that in short they were not to be protected by the government, nor were they to protect themselves. To feel the full force of this, it must be borne in mind, that the frontiers of this colony extend for a distance of 800 miles along a country peopled by barbarians of predatory habits ; and that the only part which is defended throughout the whole extent of this long line, is a space at its south-eastern point, of about 70 miles—reckoning from the sea to the Katberg—by a force amounting to 800 men, half of whom were necessarily retained at the head-quarters at Graham's Town, whilst the other handful of men were scattered in detached posts, at a distance from each other varying from 20 to 30 miles ; and this, be it remembered, in a country which, while it presents the most formidable obstacles to a system of defence, affords the greatest facilities to the predatory incursions of the Kafir. The situation of the inhabitants at this time was indeed sufficient to tire

the patience of any people. Daily plundered and insulted by the natives, they were forbid to associate for self defence, nor did the government take any steps to supply their lack of service by military protection; and thus the natives were tempted, by the absolute impunity with which they might conduct their enterprises, to plunder and destroy the exposed inhabitants.

The government indeed seems just at this time to have been determined to find out to what a pitch of absurdity measures of policy might be carried; hence at the end of June, 1834, they abolish the situation of Commissioner-General; whilst the officer who held that situation from 1828, receives a retiring pension of £300 per annum, for his past services, (viz: locating the Hottentots on the Kat River, and sundry journeys to and from Cape Town!) The inhabitants had prayed for a resident authority,—the Commissioners of Inquiry had strongly recommended it, and the home government had first appointed a Lieut.-Governor, and afterwards a Commissioner-General; but both these officers, *before taking up their residence on the spot*, or actually commencing their labours, are, in the most unaccountable and capricious manner, recalled; and the inhabitants are left in a situation where nothing less than a miracle could have saved them from that ruin which has now befallen them.

The Kafirs very soon discovered the inertness with which every measure of frontier policy was conducted, and they imputed it, not to the real cause, that of a mistaken humanity, but to weakness and to fear. Offences being allowed to pass unpunished were speedily followed by others of a more atrocious and daring character. Traders in Kafirland were plundered in open day, and treated in other respects with the greatest contumely. At length one of them,

William Purcell,* was barbarously butchered at his own door, but a short distance from the residence of the chief Hintza, and his dwelling afterwards pillaged. Still, even this deed was submitted to : a story was fabricated by Hintza, calculated to make an impression that the perpetrator of the murder had been put to death, and nothing more was said about the business.

From this moment this chief appears to have decided upon attacking the colony. To this end he removed shortly after the murder of Purcell, from his usual residence near Butterworth, to the northward, towards the sources of the Kei, a position which afforded him the most perfect facility for carrying on without observation his nefarious schemes with the frontier chiefs for the devastation of the colony. It was not even thought necessary to keep up appearances with the resident missionary and accordingly we find that the people living under his protection, and who had attached themselves to the Missionary Institution, were plundered of their property in open day, and without the least disguise, by Hintza himself. The missionary was likewise menaced by him for having administered the rite of baptism to certain Fingoes who resided on the station, and which he termed "throwing

*The Rev. JOHN AYLIFFE, Wesleyan Missionary residing in the neighbourhood, thus relates the atrocious deed in a letter to the Rev. W. J. SHREWSBURY. It is dated Butterworth, 13th July, 1834.—"I have just now returned (midnight) from the trading station of Mr. C. GOLDING, at the Fountain, and communicate to you the following painful circumstance. This morning a Kafir went to the station with some horns to sell. The young man who trades there of the name of WILLIAM PURCELL, said to the man "it is the Sabbath, I cannot purchase, and continued sitting at his breakfast, when the Kafir called to him to come to take the horns (meaning to leave them till the following day,) the young man went out; not a word was spoken, when the Kafir stabbed him with his assagai in his right breast and killed him on the spot. There being no person on the place (excepting a poor Fingo) the Kafir attempted to enter the house when the poor woman, (the wife of the murdered man) at his command threw out to him copper &c. with which he made off."

water on his dogs.”*

Notwithstanding all these appearances the Governor in *Cape Town* was so far from believing in the existence of any real danger to the inhabitants, that even the Kafir robbers, infesting the thickets of the Koonap and Fish Rivers, were not allowed to be repulsed by the military with fire-arms, without the express sanction of His Excellency; who, be it borne in mind, was to be consulted at a distance of 600 miles from the scene of commotion.

Such was precisely the situation of affairs when the first *distinct* movement of a hostile character towards the colony was made by the frontier chiefs. On this occasion Ensign Sparks was attacked and wounded as detailed in the subsequent narrative. A few days afterwards Lieut. Sutton was assailed with much more determination, and with a greater shew of force.

But here we may pause to answer a very natural enquiry, which will suggest itself to the mind of every reasonable man, viz: whether all these concurring circumstances did not open the eyes of the public to the real state of the case? We answer not in the least; for the last fact was no sooner announced from the press than the organ of that party in Cape Town, which has stood forth as the accuser of the colonists—the *Commercial Advertiser*—boldly avouched that the whole was a *pretence* for meditated aggressions by the colonists on the unoffending Kafirs:—a sentiment which had scarcely been fulminated from the press against them, when the whole line of frontier was devastated with fire and assegai, and the inhabi-

* The resident Missionary remarks at this period, namely 11th Nov., 1834, in reference to the conduct of HINTZA. I do assure you that these things press me down above measure, for the last two or three weeks the burden has been so great on my mind that my desire for food and sleep has almost left me; I reflect on my promising school all scattered, and my large congregation gone, God knows “where.”

tants were driven from their homes as wretched fugitives to Graham's Town.

We have already stated, page 6, that many of our misfortunes may be traced to the misrepresentations of those who have made it a point to depict the Kafir in the most favorable colours, whilst the frontier inhabitants have been held up to the scorn and abhorrence of the British public as the systematic oppressors of the poor and the defenceless. Among such we cannot hesitate to class the editor of the *Commercial Advertiser*, as having on every occasion shewn himself the ready apologist and abettor of the accusers of the colonists. It is, however, not our intention to make assertions, but to offer proof; and, therefore, the following sentences, extracted from that periodical, and which we have placed in juxtaposition, will fully bear out the remark made on this point, and must convince every one of the injustice and contumely with which the frontier inhabitants have been treated by that writer:—

CHARACTER OF THE KAFIRS. CHARACTER OF THE COLONISTS.

MACOME, having lost his land, has recovered his character.

BOTMA has been removed to a situation which few will covet, and

ENO,* whose fortunes have been similar, now resides in outward quiet, but broken-hearted, in the neighbourhood of Fort Willshire.

The murders of which the Colonial Government prates so fluently are to be found only on the lips of lying men, or in the imaginations of the timid Cockneys and Pin-makers, who shrink from the bold eyes of a natural man.—*South African Commercial Advertiser* July 4, 1829.

* Towards the close of the year 1833, this "gentleman"—as the "*Commercial Advertiser*" styles him—caused a whole family of British subjects, whilst on a journey, to be waylaid, on British ground, and mercilessly slaughtered.

The facts of this case are detailed in the "*Graham's Town Journal*" of the 22d January, 1835, and are briefly these:—A Hottentot, named David Monkey, who had acquired by long servitude some little property in goats and cattle, was journeying to the missionary institution at Wesleyville, in Kafirland. On the way thither he was inveigled to a kraal of Eno's, where a plan was laid to

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To these two *gentlemen* we had the honour of being introduced last Wednesday, and two more grave and sedate personages, when you get them to enter into serious conversation, or men who understand their own affairs better, their rights, and the relation in which they stand to the colony and their neighbours, we have never met with, either in office or out of it.

With regard to this people as a nation or as individuals, and their susceptibility of improvement and civilization, as it is called, we would say without hesitation that we know of nothing of which an Englishman is capable of which they are not capable. They have the same powers of mind, the same passions, the same virtues, the same vices. Nothing is wanting but education to put them on a footing with the proudest people in Europe.

In their notions of justice,

CHARACTER OF THE COLONISTS.

We cannot, however, allow a single day to elapse without declaring that the alarm expressed with regard to these people, (vagrants at Graham's Town) had no foundation,—that the accusations brought against them were false, and that the clamour, we feel convinced, was raised for the purpose of concealing a system and series of frauds, practised by some of the white English inhabitants against or upon these people.—South African Commercial Advertiser March 20, 1830.

On reaching the frontier he will find that the people are not in such a horrible state of alarm and trepidation, as to be ready to fly with the remainder of their property to the Swan River, or any other position of the habitable globe. * * A few days ago the Justice of the Peace at Bathurst, who lately sold the remainder of his fine stock to

plunder and assassinate him and all his family. Accordingly in a sequestered spot within the Ceded Territory—where Exo was living by the sufferance of government—the ruthless deed was perpetrated, and the poor man, his wife, and two children, were savagely butchered. The cattle and goats were delivered over to Exo. Whispers on the subject of this deed of blood became current in that part of the country, and at length the particulars reached the ears of the missionary at Wesleyville, who lost no time in communicating them to the government. An investigation was, in consequence, entered upon, and prosecuted so far that the skeletons of the murdered family were actually found near the scene of the murder by a military officer (Ensign O'Reilly) who was employed to make a search for them. But notwithstanding this from some technical difficulties, the matter was allowed to drop, and the crafty Exo has been permitted to prosecute his machinations against the colonists, and to fill up the measure of his iniquities by the late daring invasion.

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in friendship, in affection between relatives, in gratitude, and in resentment, they have nothing to learn from Europeans.—South African Com. Advertiser, April 3d, 1830.

Poor BOTMA! Some years ago he was a noble looking fellow, round and heroic in his contour, loud in his laugh, and bold and active in his gait. Now his countenance is fallen, his mouth seldom goes further than a quiet smile, his motion and voice are mournful and tremulous; he has been cooped up in a place where his cattle and people are starved, where no corn will grow. Being the steadfast friend of the colony, he has been made accountable for the faults of every rascal in his neighbourhood; he has been attacked and murdered by mistake; vials of wrath have not only been poured out, but broken upon his old gray head. ENO again is an old man. * * Sorrow has seized every feature of his countenance, and bound up and sealed despair in his heart. He speaks of his sons that have been shot, when he and they were doing no wrong, and suspecting no danger, and of the miseries which government is now inflicting upon him in his old age.

In TZATZOE you find a model of industry for your Al-

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save them from the enemy missed the rest of them, &c. * * Until misfortune, "gi' es them a jag," to use the rural figure of Douce Davie Deans, "and lets the wind out o' them, like a cow bursten wi' clover;" we must be prepared to hear many an unsavoury report from them.—S. A. Commercial Advertiser. March 17, 1830.

When the government hear of any outcry they have only to give a hint that Dr. Philip, or the Editor of this paper, are about to make a tour in that direction, and inquiry will hide its head; sin will be felled like an ox, and all the enemies of righteousness will be scattered like sheep.—South African Commercial Advertiser, March 24, 1830.

Col. Somerset and the frontier authorities make this a *pretence* for driving all Kafirs from the neutral territory, where several of them have been permitted to graze their cattle and sow corn. This proceeding takes place, as *usual*, when the corn is nearly ripe, and the grass in Kafirland scanty.—Commercial Advertiser, Dec. 27, 1834.

The moment we heard that

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bany farmers and Dutch boers. Com. Adv. April 7, 1830.

A Correspondent informs us of some unlucky events on the Kafir frontier.* They have many complaints, and speak with great emotion of the calumnies spread against them in the colonies. That they have rogues and vagabonds amongst them they readily admit; but they urge with much appearance of truth that such characters may be found on our side of the boundary, and that they have suffered to a much greater extent from the colonists than we ever pretend to have suffered from them. After passing the Keiskamma, you find among the independent chiefs and captains the same appearance of peace and tranquility. We have met with none who were not aware of the superior strength of the colony, or who did not express a wish to continue on friendly terms with it. At the same time they are evidently disposed to question any interference of our government with their domestic affairs, and even to resist it if necessary.—Com. Ad., 5th April, 1830.

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of the 150 Hottentots, raised by the little village of Bethelsdorp, 80 had marched to the relief of that capital of the Eastern Province, we were prepared for the cheering announcement by the provisional Government that Graham's Town was now safe. * * After a march of one hundred miles they had the inexpressible satisfaction of eating their dinners in a state of tranquility, having rescued from the fangs of a cruel foe a town, containing from 3 to 4000 inhabitants, and garrisoned by between six and eight hundred Englishmen, exclusive of the military. * * Though there was never any danger worth the name of danger on the immediate frontier, there was danger elsewhere. * * A commando of two hundred armed Boers or Hottentots, who possess both animal and moral courage, could sweep Kafirland from the Keiskamma to the Kei.—South African Commercial Advertiser, Jan. 21, 1835.

There is no occasion to take up time by further extracts to shew the false colouring, which has been

* The "unlucky events," as they are here called, were the first indications of those calamities which have rendered one of the fairest portions of the colony a perfect desert.

given to the relative character of the colonists and natives by the "Commercial Advertiser," the above will perfectly demonstrate this; and we put it to the conscience of every reasonable man whether such writings, widely circulated and uncontradicted, are not calculated to make impressions highly prejudicial to the colonists, and favourable to the Kafirs, of which recent events have shewn the latter to be utterly undeserving.

If this be a fair view of the subject, then it is not a matter of indifference or choice, but a positive duty, in those who have the means to disabuse the public mind on subjects which affect every thing that we, as a people, hold dear and sacred. Did we not step forth at such a moment,—at a time when our countrymen and friends are mercilessly butchered,—our altars desecrated,—a peaceful people driven from their hearths, from smiling plenty and comfort, to wander as fugitives and as paupers in a country which they had enriched by their industry,—raising it from a wilderness to the condition of a rich and productive province; and all this in return for continued and persevering efforts to confer the most momentous benefits on the daring aggressors;—we say, did we refrain from entering the lists at such a crisis, our silence or neutrality would not be prudence, but base and dastardly cowardice,—a despicable dereliction of a plain and positive duty.

We do not denounce men, but measures and principles; let the friends of those to whom we have adverted take credit for all those talents and virtues which they claim on their behalf, and the ease is not altered one jot or tittle. It has been well said, that names may give a sanction to opinions, but that the true merits of a question are not to be thus deter-

mined, nor truth confounded and driven from the field by the "whistling of a name." Here, then, we take our stand; we have brought forward our charge of misrepresentation openly and fairly; and we have supported it by such proof as will, we are assured, commend itself to the understanding of every impartial, candid, and honest mind.

Nothing, however, can shew more clearly the decidedly false impressions under which the best disposed persons might labour, than the altered tone of our present Governor, occasioned by a few months residence on the frontier, and after having acquired a thorough knowledge of the duplicity of the Kafir character, by personal experience and indubitable proof.

Sir Benjamin D'Urban requires no panegyric from us, and we shall offer none. His character is fixed upon too solid a basis to require support, or to fear the shocks of those who may attack it; whilst his motives in reference to *his* opinions of the natives, must indeed be far beyond the reach of suspicion itself. When, therefore, we find His Excellency supporting by a public act the position we have taken in the foregoing pages—and which, be it remembered, had emanated from the press before the publication of the official documents referred to—we may surely without the charge of presumption, take credit for having fully made out our case, and *proved* the injurious misrepresentations, which have been so industriously circulated in the mother country with regard to this colony.

This part of the subject would be injured by argument, we, therefore, conclude it by the following—

Communication from His Britannic Majesty's Governor of the Colony of the Cape of Good Hope, to HINTZA, Chief of the Country on the left bank of the middle and lower Kie River, and the acknowledged principal Chief and Arbitrator of all the Tribes of Kafirland westward of that River to the Frontier of the Colony.

1.—IN the year 1828, Hintza was in imminent peril of being destroyed himself with all his people by the more warlike, and to him irresistible tribes of the Fetcani. In his extremity he besought the assistance of the colonial government, which was granted. The troops of the colony, (at great expense and inconvenience) marched to his aid, defeated the enemies of Hintza, and saved him, his people and his country. This service rendered him, (as great a one as one people can render to another) Hintza has himself acknowledged, and especially in express terms, as well personally in a conference with the Commandant Van Wyk, in February last, as by one of his captains, "Gnobo Gnobo," in a conference with the same Commandant in March last.

2.—Now what return has the chief Hintza made to His Majesty's colony for these unquestioned and acknowledged benefits received?

In the end of last year, (1834) the Kafir tribes on the colonial frontier, viz: of Tyali, Macomo, Eno, Botma, Dushani, T'Slambie, Umhali, and others, their connections and dependants, some of them then living by permission and sufferance upon the colonial territory, in a period of profound peace and amity with the colony, and without any previous notice or declaration of war, and when besides, the Governor was actually negotiating with them arrangements for conferring upon them advantages and benefits along the colonial borders greater than they had ever before possessed,—

suddenly commenced hostilities upon the colony, broke into the border at once, along the whole line from the Winterberg to the sea, wasting all the country with fire and sword, murdering the unprepared and defenceless inhabitants of the farms, pillaging the houses, and sweeping off all the cattle, horses, sheep, &c.

3.—When these chiefs were preparing this unprovoked and atrocious aggression, by combining together and arranging their measures for carrying it into effect, their intentions were well known to Hintza, who did not—as being the acknowledged chief of Kafirland it was in his power to have done, and as considering his relations with, and great obligations to the colonial government, he ought to have done—either discountenance or put a stop to their intended enterprise, or give any notice of it to the Governor or to the colonial authorities on the frontier.

4.—On the contrary, he afforded it his countenance and support; received into his country immense quantities of colonial cattle, horses, &c.* plundered from the colony; gave harbour to the plunderers who had brought it thither; and even permitted or connived at some of his own people's joining in the inroads into the colony.

5.—In the month of February, and again in the month of March last, the Commandant Van Wyk, by my authority, and in my name, communicated to the chief Hintza, the only terms (far milder than his proceedings had justly merited) upon which he could continue to be regarded in the light of a friend to the colony, and so avoid being confounded with its enemies and treated accordingly, viz: “that he should declare his disavowal of, and cease to countenance the chiefs who were in hostility with the colony, af-

* At least 50,000 head of cattle, and 1,000 horses.

fording them neither harbour, residence, nor protection, and send back to me all the colonial cattle, horses, and other plunder which had been received into his country."

6. To these communications Hintza has not as yet returned to me any satisfactory answer, neither has he complied with the terms therein prescribed, since he has continued to countenance the hostile chiefs, and still retains in his country the cattle, horses, &c., and other property plundered from the colony, and harbours the robbers.

7. This being so, and having already defeated and dispersed the tribes of the hostile frontier Kafirs, I have now been compelled *to come into the chief HINTZA's country with the troops of the King, my master*, to demand an answer to the said communications, and to enforce a compliance with the terms proposed; in failure of which I shall continue to make war upon him to the uttermost, for which purpose the divisions of my forces, which I left at the Poorts of the Buffalo and Debe, are now moving upon the Amave, and Upper Kei; and Faku, the chief of the Amapondas, and Vadanna, the chief of the Tambookies, who are my friends, and to meet whom I have sent detachments of my troops—are ready to fall upon Hintza from the side of the Bashee.

8. Two weeks ago, on the day I crossed the Kie, and before I crossed it, I announced to Buku (Hintza's brother, and Governor of the district of the Lower Kie) for his information and that of Hintza, by a messenger who had been sent by Buku, and who appeared on this side of the river, "that I was coming to demand a satisfactory answer to the communications of the Commandant Van Wyk."

9. On the same day I communicated to the respective local heemraadens of Hintza and of Buku, to whom I gave audience in my camp at the Kie

Fontein, the reasons and purpose of my coming, and earnestly pressed upon them the losing no time in communicating the whole to Hintza, and demanding in my name, that he should forthwith *come to me* to confer on these affairs, since the result of that conference, as it might afford me the required satisfaction or not, would determine the question of peace or war between us. I added that this must be immediately done, as Hintza had already trifled with my just demands for more than two months, and that I could delay their enforcement no longer. That I should continue to move through his country, but that in the mean-time, unless he failed to appear in a reasonable time, or unless his people committed hostilities upon mine,—mine should abstain from hostilities upon them.

10. These heemraden promised to make my communication *forthwith* to Hintza, and especially the counsellor Socho, who also stated that Hintza was at the Tsomo, about one day's journey from my camp.

11. In four days, Socho returned to me in my camp on the Gona, and announced to me "that he had duly made my communication to Hintza, and that he (Hintza) was on his way to meet me, and would arrive the next day."

12. I then informed Socho that I desired to receive no more *messengers*, that it was indispensable for me to see Hintza *himself*; that I would wait for this purpose five days from my *first* message sent by the heemraden, and by him (Socho,) and therefore, that if Hintza did not arrive on the following afternoon, I should consider it a refusal of satisfaction, and commence hostilities.

13. I still waited till the seventh day, when, having had no farther intelligence of Hintza, I sent to the residence of Socho, which was in the neighbourhood of my camp, to make final enquiries, but he had left his

residence and was not to be found.

14. On the following day Couba, a captain, a counsellor, and a confidential officer of Hintza, came into my camp, not bearing any message from Hintza, but, as he said, "to hear the news," in other words as a spy ; I however treated him well, and detained him until the following day, the ninth from my first communication, and consequently four days beyond that fixed on for my commencing hostilities. The people of Hintza also, in the meantime *themselves* commenced hostilities by the murder of one of mine, (Armstrong). I called Couba before me, recapitulated all the above, repeated to him the communications made in February and March to Hintza, by the Commandant Van Wyk, with the conditions then laid down, and enjoined him, that upon my dismissing him, he was to proceed instantly to Hintza, to repeat to him all that I had said, and to add that I should forthwith commence hostilities against him, for the following reasons :—

1st.—For the causes already set forth by the Commandant Van Wyk, no satisfaction thereon having been given.

2d.—Because in the month of July last, a subject of his Britannic Majesty, (William Purcell) living within the territory of the chief Hintza, (indeed not far from the chief's residence at the time) under the chief's sanction and permission to trade with his people, and under the security of his good faith—was deliberately murdered at his own door by a Kafir of the tribe of Hintza, or by a Fingoe servant suborned by one of his tribe, for which no atonement has yet been made, and although this atrocious and unwarrantable act was then duly made known to Hintza, no effectual steps have ever been taken for the punishment of the murderer, and for giving satisfaction for the matter to His Majesty the King of England for this

unprovoked murder of one of His subjects.

3d.—For the recent murder of Armstrong, a British subject, by which also Hintza's people broke the condition of my truce, and commenced hostilities.

4th.—For the violence, rapine, and ill treatment practised against the British missionaries at Butterworth, living there by Hintza's sanction, which had forced them to fly to the Tambookie tribe of Vossanie, to save their lives.

5th.—For the violence, rapine, and outrages committed also upon the British traders, who had thereby been alike forced to fly to the same tribe for refuge.

That for all these reasons I should immediately commence hostilities upon Hintza, and carry away all the cattle I could find, in the doing which if resistance were offered by the people of Hintza, they must take the consequences of it, brought upon them by the conduct of their chief.

I also announced to Hintza my having been induced by his aforesaid conduct, to enter into a treaty with Faku, chief of the Amapondas, and with Vaddanna, the chief of the Tambookies. I further announced, that I had the Fingoes under my especial protection; that they had become the allies and subjects of the King of England, and that I would severely retaliate upon the people of Hintza, any violence which the latter should commit upon the former.

I then demanded of Couba, "if he had well understood all the above?" to which he answered, "that he had, and would duly communicate it immediately to Hintza."

I then formally declared war, dismissed Couba, and commenced hostilities.

15. I now repeat to Hintza, what I then announced to him by Couba, and—

16. For all these injuries done to the subjects of

the King of England, I now demand and if not complied with, will proceed to enforce, the following terms of satisfaction :—

1st.—I demand from the Chief Hintza the restoration of 50,000 head of cattle, and of 1,000 Horses, to be approved of by Commissioners whom I shall appoint to receive and examine them, 25,000 head of cattle and 500 horses immediately, as hostilities will continue till they are delivered, and 25,000 head of cattle and 500 horses in one year from this day.

2d.—I demand that Hintza, as the acknowledged Chief of Western Kafirland, shall lay *his imperative commands*, and cause them *to be obeyed*, upon the chiefs of the tribes Tyali, Macomo, Eno, Bothma, Dushanie, T'Slambie, Umhala, and their dependants, instantly to cease hostilities, and send in, and give up to me, or to one of the divisions of my forces, all the fire-arms which they may possess.

3d.—I demand that the murderer of William Purcell, (or if a Fingo servant acting under subornation, the suborner to the deed,) be immediately brought to the condign punishment of death by the Kafir authorities, and in presence of Commissioners, whom I shall appoint to witness the execution, and to whom the chief Hintza will cause to be delivered 300 head of good cattle, (to be approved of by the said Commissioners,) for the benefit of the Widow and family of the murdered man.

4th.—I demand, that the same atonement be made for the murder of Armstrong, as that demanded for the murder of Purcell.

5th.—I demand that for the due and full execution of the above conditions, the chief Hintza shall deliver into my hands here, on the spot, and immediately, two hostages, to be chosen by me from among the chief persons about him.

All this well and duly complied with, I will cause hostilities to cease as soon as 25,000 head of cattle and 500 horses shall have been delivered to the Commissioners, and enter into a treaty of peace between the Colony and Hintza.

(signed)

B. D'URBAN

Governor of the Colony of the
Cape of Good Hope,
Commander in Chief.

Done in my Camp on the Isolo,
29th April, 1835.

The foregoing paper was read to Hintza in person by the Governor and Commander in Chief, and translated to the Chief, sentence by sentence, *seriatim*, into the Kafir Tongue, by the Kafir Interpreter Mr. Shepstone, in the Camp on the Isolo, on the 29th April, 1835, at the conclusion of which the chief expressed his perfect understanding of it all.

And on the 30th of April, (the day following) in the same place, Hintza, formally, and expressly, accepted all the conditions therein laid down, and concluded peace with the King of England, His Majesty's subjects, Colony, and Allies,

In the presence of us witnesses—

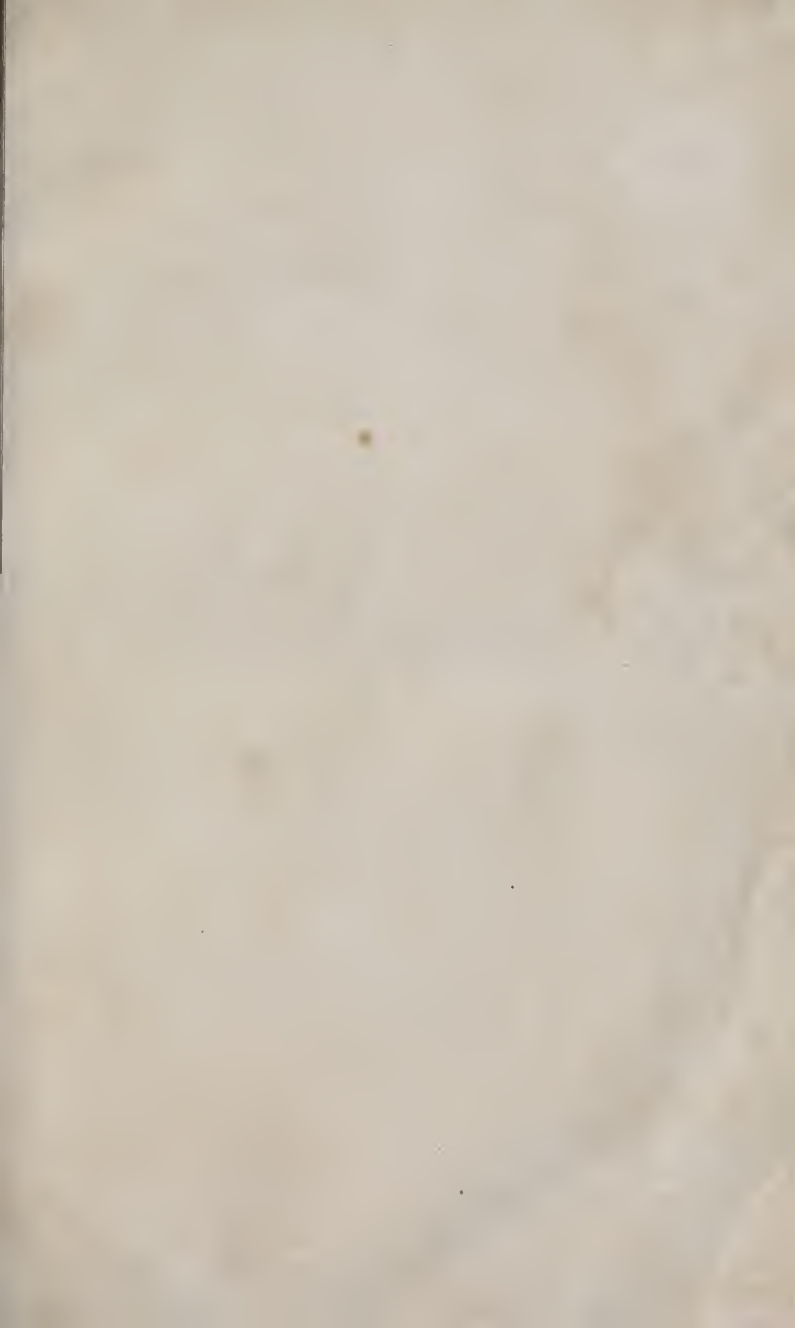
(Signed)

H. G. SMITH, Col. Chief of the Staff.

J. PEDDY, Lieut.-Col. 72d Highlanders,
Commanding 1st Division.

J. MURRAY, M. D., Dep.-Ins.-General of
Hospitals, Chief of the Medical Staff.

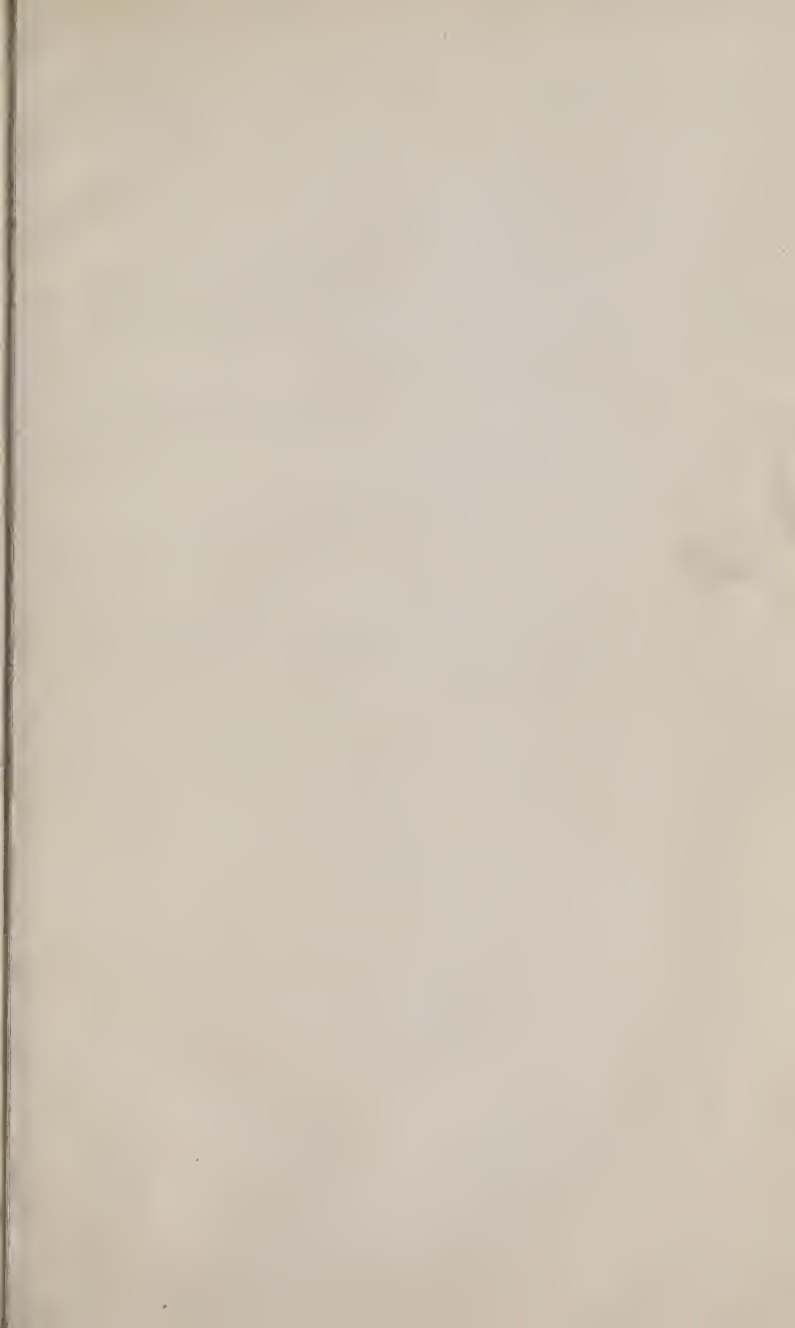
C. C. MICHELL, Surveyor-General.



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